



# **Ford Foundation records, Overseas Development, International Training and Research, Office Files of John Howard**

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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
Subject Files .....	11

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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, Overseas Development, International Training and Research, Office Files of John Howard
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<b>Date [inclusive]:</b>	1951-1969 (Bulk: 1951-1966)
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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

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### 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

---

### 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](#)

---

## 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 subject files.

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

---

## Arrangement

---

Loosely Alphabetical.

[^ 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

Records more than 10 years old are open for research with select materials restricted as noted. Brittle or damaged items are available at the discretion of RAC.

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

## Collection Inventory

### Subject Files, 1951-1969 (Bulk: 1951-1966) (1951-1966)

Title/Description	Instances
A -- General (folder 1), 1951-1961	box 1
A -- General (folder 2), 1960-1965	box 1
A -- General (folder 3), 1961-1966	box 1
Afghanistan -- General Correspondence, 1952-1966	box 1
Africa -- William O. Brown -- Consultant, 1952-1956	box 1
Africa -- William O. Brown -- Consultant -- Mel Fox Files, 1955-1965	box 1
Africa -- William O. Brown -- Trip to Africa, 1953 -- Reports (African Training and Research File -- Lamb), 1953	box 1
Africa -- Career Opportunities for African Specialists -- M.J. Fox -- African Studies Association Meeting (September 1959), 1959-1960	box 1
Africa -- Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara (CCTA), 1961	box 1
Africa -- Conferences with State Department Re: Africa and General Correspondence, 1952-1959	box 1
Africa -- Conferences -- Princeton University Conference on Africa, 1957-1958	box 1
Africa -- Conferences -- Greenbrier Conference on Africa Sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation (May 1958) (folder 1), 1958-1959	box 1
Africa -- Conferences -- Greenbrier Conference on Africa Sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation (May 1958) (folder 2), 1958-1959	box 1
Africa -- Conferences -- International Congress of Africanists -- Ibadan (September 9-11, 1961), 1961-1962	box 1

Africa -- Conferences -- U.S. National Commission for UNESCO -- 8th National Conference on Africa and the United States (October 22-26, 1961), Oct 22-26, 1961	box 1
Africa -- Conferences -- Conference on Federalization in Africa, Feb 12-17, 1962	box 1
Africa -- Docket Items Re: Activities in Africa, 1957-1958	box 1
Africa -- Educational Exchange with Africa -- Memorandum/ Program Recommendation by M.J. Fox, Sep 2, 1960	box 1
Africa -- Educational Exchange with Africa -- M.J. Fox -- Materials, 1954-1961	box 1
Africa -- Educational Exchange, 1960-1962	box 1
Africa -- Educational Exchange -- State Department Exchange Program, 1960	box 1
Africa -- Educational Services, Inc. -- African Summer Study -- MIT Draft of General Report, Sep 1, 1961	box 1
Africa -- "Faces of Africa" (L9-883), 1959	box 2
Africa -- "Faces of Africa" (National Educational Television and Radio Center), 1959	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- Background Papers Re: Mission, 1959	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- Conference on African Administration -- Cambridge, 1956	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- Discussion with Experts, 1956	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- John Howard Notes, Miscellaneous Work Sheets, [1956]	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- Correspondence with Team (incl. photographs), 1956	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- Interim Correspondence with Howard, Fox, Brown, 1956	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- Ford Foundation Internal Papers and Correspondence Re: Mission, 1956	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- Itineraries Prepared by Host Countries, 1956	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- Itinerary, Visas, etc., 1956	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- "Leaders in Nigeria" and "Leaders in the Gold Coast" Reports by Betty George, 1956-1958	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- Miscellaneous (Recommendations, Reports, Biographies, etc.), 1956-1957	box 2

Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- Melvin J. Fox -- Index of Contacts, n.d.	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- Official Communications with African Leaders, 1956-1957	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- People to See in Africa, [1956]	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- Ruth Sloan Report on Missions, 1955-1959	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- Team Reports from Africa, 1956	box 2
Africa -- First Mission to Africa (ITR) -- Visit to Ford Foundation Fellows in Africa, 1957	box 2
Africa -- General Correspondence, 1954	box 2
Africa -- General Correspondence, 1955	box 2
Africa -- General Correspondence, 1956	box 2
Africa -- General Correspondence, Apr-Jun 1956	box 2
Africa -- General Correspondence, 1951-1953	box 2
Africa -- General Correspondence, Jul-Sep 1956	box 3
Africa -- General Correspondence, Oct-Dec 1956	box 3
Africa -- General Correspondence, Jan-Mar 1957	box 3
Africa -- General Correspondence, Apr-Jun 1957	box 3
Africa -- General Correspondence, Jul-Sep 1957	box 3
Africa -- General Correspondence, Oct-Dec 1957	box 3
Africa -- General Correspondence, 1958	box 3
Africa -- General Correspondence (folder 1), 1959-1961	box 3
Africa -- General Correspondence (folder 2), 1959-1961	box 3
Africa -- General Correspondence, 1962-1963	box 3
Africa -- Georgetown University -- African Languages Proposal, 1957-1958	box 3
Africa -- Joint ITR/OD Approach to Development of Policy on Educational Interchange, 1961	box 3
Africa -- Memoranda, 1952-1955	box 3
Africa -- Memoranda, 1958-1959	box 3
Africa -- Memoranda, 1960-1963	box 3
Africa -- Operation Crossroads Africa -- Proposed May 1960 Docket Item, 1959-1963	box 3

Africa -- Publications, Documents, Background Material, 1956-1957	box 3
Africa -- Report on Africa and Supplement to Report on African Studies -- M.J. Fox, Apr 4, 1961	box 3
Africa -- Survey of African Research and Training in the U.S. (DeKiewiet, Fallers, Cowan, Rosberg group), 1958-1959	box 3
Africa -- Trip to Africa (Melvin J. Fox) -- African Language Training Project and "Trip to the Union of South Africa" Report -- Charles Ferguson, 1959	box 3
Africa -- Undergraduate Scholarship Program for African Students and General Re-Collaborating Colleges Scheme -- African-American Institute, 1960-1961	box 3
Africa -- West African Languages Survey -- Professor Joseph Greenberg, Columbia University -- OD Grant (PA60-115), 1959-1961	box 3
African Scholarship Program of American Universities -- Expenses -- McHenry Study Team Meetings, May 1 and 7, 1962	box 3
African Scholarship Program of American Universities -- McHenry Team Study, 1961-May 1962	box 3
African Scholarship Program of American Universities -- McHenry Team Study -- Reports, 1962-1963	box 3
Agency for International Development, 1962-1965	box 3
American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities -- Meeting, Washington (November 14, 1960) -- "Foreign Technical Cooperation Committee", 1960	box 3
American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities -- Centennial Meeting, Kansas City, Missouri (November 12-16, 1961), 1961-1962	box 3
American Association of Universities and International Association of Universities, 1958-1962	box 3
American Council of Learned Societies -- Area and Language Specialists, 1952-1954	box 3
American Council of Learned Societies -- General File, 1955-1966	box 3
American Council on Education -- General, 1956-1962	box 4
American Council on Education -- Commission on Education and International Affairs -- General File, 1956-1962	box 4
American Council on Education -- Language and Area Centers -- Correspondence Re: NDEA Report, 1960-1961	box 4
American Friends Service Committee -- Summer 1961, 1959-1961	box 4
American Political Science Association -- Meetings in Washington, D.C. (September 10-12, 1959), 1959	box 4

American University -- General, 1956-1962	box 4
American University Field Services -- General, 1955-1965	box 4
Arias, Dr. Julio Rodriguez (Buenos Aires) -- Institute for Latin American Integration, 1966	box 4
Asia -- Asia and the Near East -- Conference on Land Tenure, New York (December 8-9, 1952), 1952-1953	box 4
Asia -- Asian Studies -- General, 1957-1961	box 4
Asia -- Conference on American Research in Asia held in New York (May 11, 1957), May 11, 1957	box 4
Asia -- International Cooperation in Development of Asian Countries (Ben Moore - Ed Mason) -- Report, 1956-1957	box 4
Asia -- National Council on Asian Affairs -- Elinor Wolf, John Melby, et al. (L5-160), 1955-1959	box 4
Asia -- Staff Conference on Training and Research in Southeast Asian Affairs, Mar 5, 1954	box 4
Association Internationale des Etudiants en Sciences Economiques et Commerciales (L9-525), 1960	box 4
Association of Universities of British Commonwealth -- University of Toronto, 1958-1961	box 4
Australian Universities, 1960-1961	box 4
B -- General Files (folder 1), 1952-1966	box 4
B -- General Files (folder 2), 1958-1963	box 4
British Columbia, University of, 1956-1960	box 4
British Universities -- Principals Conference, Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas -- Carnegie Corporation -- Gould House, 1958	box 4
Brookings Institution -- General Files, 1958-1965	box 4
Brookings Institution -- Program of Studies of U.S. Relations with Developing Countries, 1961-1962	box 4
Brookings Institutions -- Proposed Long-Term Support (L65-54, non-program), 1964-1965	box 4
Brookings Institutions -- Proposed Long-Term Support (attachments), 1964-1965	box 4
Brookings Institution -- Re: Study of Political Role of Labor in the Underdeveloped Countries (H. Field Havilland), 1960	box 4
Burma, 1956-1961	box 5
Burma -- Agricultural Institute, 1954	box 5
Burma -- Burma Technical Institute (Dunwoody Institute), 1954	box 5

Burma -- Council on Foreign Relations Study Group on Burma and the U.S., 1958	box 5
Burma -- General Correspondence, 1952	box 5
Burma -- General Correspondence, 1953	box 5
Burma -- General Correspondence, 1954	box 5
Burma -- General Correspondence, 1955	box 5
Burma -- General Correspondence, 1956	box 5
Burma -- General Correspondence, 1957-1958	box 5
Burma (office) -- General Correspondence, 1959-1960	box 5
Burma (office) -- General Correspondence, 1961-1962	box 5
Burma -- Grant Requests, 1954	box 5
Burma -- Mass Education Council Program, 1954	box 5
Burma -- New York University -- Frank Trager, 1956	box 5
Burma -- Pali University -- Education Center for Oriental Studies, 1954	box 5
Burma -- State Scholarship Program, 1955	box 5
C -- General Files, 1957-1963	box 5
California, University of -- Berkeley -- Center of Slavic and East European Studies, 1957-1960	box 5
California, University of -- General, 1957-1964	box 5
Carnegie Corporation -- General File, 1960-1963	box 5
Chicago, University of -- General, 1957-1963	box 5
Chicago, University of -- Institute of Contemporary Thought in the United States -- Dean Strozier, 1956-1957	box 5
China -- ACITR Discussions on China, 1955-1960	box 6
China -- Conference on Advanced Chinese Language Training, Mar 19, 1955	box 6
China -- Education, 1960-1966	box 6
China -- Everton-Barnett Memoranda, 1961	box 6
China -- Exchange Fellowships, 1956-1960	box 6
China -- Langer, Paul F. re: Board of Overseas Training and Research (BOTR) Survey, 1953-1954	box 6
China -- Langer, Paul F. -- Consultancy, 1955	box 6
China -- Non-Governmental Organizations Interested in Asian Affairs, 1954	box 6



China -- Organizations Concerned with Far Eastern Studies and Asia Education, 1954-1955	box 6
China -- Reaction of Generalists to China Program, 1954	box 6
China -- Special China Fellowships, 1960-1961	box 6
China -- Taiwan Center, 1961-1962	box 6
China -- Training of Chinese, Chinese Prisoners of War, Overseas Chinese, Chinese Colleges, 1954	box 6
China -- Training Problems (disciplinary, language, etc.), 1958	box 6
Citizen Education in World Affairs -- Foundation Committee, 1964-1965	box 6
(The) College and World Affairs, 1961-1962	box 6
(The) College and World Affairs, 1962	box 6
(The) College and World Affairs, 1963	box 6
Columbia University -- Council for Atomic Age Studies, 1957-1959	box 6
A -- General Files, 1959-1962	box 7
Akrawi, Dr. Matta -- UNESCO, 1960-1964	box 7
American Council on Education, 1960-1962	box 7
Bibliographic Materials -- General, 1960	box 7
Brickman, William H., 1952-1961	box 7
Butts, R. Freeman, 1959	box 7
Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Teaching -- Digest of Discussion on Basic Issue, Nov 18, 1959	box 7
Commager, Henry Steele -- Address Re: The University and the Community, May 12, 1959	box 7
Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, 1959	box 7
Coombs, Philip -- CUWA Project -- Special File on Philip Coombs and Newly Created Branch of State Department for Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU), 1960-1964	box 7
Council on International Cooperation in Education -- Memorandum (revised) -- Outline of Council, Apr 18, 1960	box 7
Committee on the University and World Affairs (CUWA) -- Country Studies, 1960	box 7
Cowley, W.H. and CUWA, 1959-1960	box 7
Education and World Affairs -- Overseas Development (OD) Funds -- Support of the Overseas Educational Service, 1966	box 7

Education and World Affairs -- FAP on CUWA Project -- Special Folder on "Papers on Continuing Agency", 1956-1961	box 7
Education and World Affairs -- General Support -- Six Years Beginning Oct 1, 1966 -- \$3 Million (PA63-347 A) (folder 1), 1965-1966	box 7
Education and World Affairs -- General Support -- Six Years Beginning Oct 1, 1966 -- \$3 Million (PA63-347 A) (folder 2), 1965-1966	box 7
Education and World Affairs -- General Support -- \$2 Million, 1963-1965	box 7
Elliott, William Y., 1960	box 7
F -- General Files, 1960-1961	box 8
Foreign Students -- General File, 1958-1962	box 8
Fulbright, Senator J.W., 1960	box 8
Fulbright, Senator J.W. -- Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, 1961-1962	box 8
G -- General Files -- Reports, Correspondence Re: Education, 1958-1960	box 8
Gardner, John -- Re: Higher Education and the Government, University and World Affairs -- Reports, 1959-1960	box 8
H -- General Files Re: Education and Universities, 1960-1961	box 8
Hannah, Harold W. -- The Advancement of Education in Nigeria and the United States, May 1960	box 8
Harvard University -- General, 1960	box 8
Harvard University -- Letter to President Pusey from Dean Bundy, Nov 16, 1959	box 8
Health, Education and Welfare -- U.S. Office of Education -- General, 1959-1960	box 8
I -- General Files, 1960	box 8
Ike, Nobutaka -- American Cooperation with Japanese Universities -- Report, Apr 1960	box 8
India -- General, 1959-1960	box 8
Institute of International Education -- Agreement between IIE and ACE on Related Activities of the American Council on Education and IIE, May 22, 1956	box 8
International Association of Universities -- Roger Keyes -- General, 1959-1960	box 8
International Cooperation Administration (ICA) -- General, 1960	box 8

ICA -- Proposed Outline for the Study of Technical Assistance to Less Developed Countries -- Jack Ohly, 1959-1960	box 8
ICA -- Ralph Ruffner, Director of Office of Educational Services, Jan 1960	box 8
J -- General Files Incl. Ronald Jones "Personnel Management for Technical Cooperation", 1959	box 8
K -- General Files, 1959-1960	box 8
L -- General Files, 1959-1960	box 8
Lewis, L.J. and Karl W. Bigelow -- Cooperation between British and American Universities, May 1960	box 8
MIT -- Excerpt from the Study of the Center for International Studies at MIT for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 1960	box 8
Medlin, W.K. -- Soviet Education in World Affairs -- Report, May 1960	box 8
Meetings -- Discussion Paper for Meeting on August 15, 1959 in Washington, D.C., Jul 30, 1959	box 8
Meetings -- Summary of Meeting on August 15, 1959, Aug-Sep 1959	box 8
Meetings -- Letter from John Howard to CUWA incl. Summary of Discussion at August 15, 1959 Meeting, Sep 1, 1959	box 8
Meetings -- Plan of Study Re: CUWA for October 9, 1959 Meeting, Sep 28, 1959	box 8
Meetings -- Summary of Meeting on October 9, 1959, Oct 16, 1959	box 8
Meetings -- Outline of Report for CUWA for December 29-30, 1959 Meeting in Princeton, Nov 10, 1959	box 8
Meetings -- Staff Note (CUWA) for December 29-30, 1959 Meeting in Princeton, Nov 10, 1959	box 8
Meetings -- Letter from John Howard to CUWA Reporting on Talks in Washington with ACE-CIPA, ICA, IES, and State Department, Nov 24, 1959	box 8
Meetings -- Docket for Princeton Meeting (CUWA) on December 29-30, 1959, Dec 29-30, 1959	box 8
Meetings -- CUWA Background Papers and Documents for March 14, 1960 Meeting, 1960	box 8
Meetings -- Committee on the University and World Affairs -- Meeting in Washington, D.C. on March 14, 1960, Mar 14, 1960	box 8
Meetings -- Committee on the University and World Affairs -- Meeting in Washington on July 18, 1960 -- Docket, Jul 1960	box 8
U -- General Files, 1960	

	box 9
W -- General Files, 1960-1961	box 9
Yarmolinsky, Adam, 1960-1961	box 9
Meeting on Comparative and Overseas Education -- Gould House (L8-742), Oct 17-18, 1958	box 9
Studies of Comparative Cultures and Religions, 1956-1958	box 9
Conference on Comparative Economic Growth and Structure at Princeton University, Jun 27-28, 1958	box 9
Conference on Higher Education for Distinguished Visiting Fulbright Scholars Sponsored by American University, CBARC and the State Department, Jun 14-18, 1961	box 9
Council on Foreign Relations -- Philip E. Mosely, Director of Studies, 1955-1962	box 9
Conference on Improving Resource Base in U.S. for Technical Assistance Overseas in Development Administration and Law, Oct 26-27, 1962	box 9
Conference on Soviet and Chinese Communism Similarities and Differences -- Meeting at Lake Tahoe, Jun 13-17, 1965	box 9
Cornell University -- General, 1957-1963	box 9
Council on Foreign Relations -- Study Group on Human Factors in Economic Development -- Edwin J. Cohn, 1957-1958	box 9
D -- General Files, 1963-1964	box 9
Dartmouth College -- Re: "A Proposal for an Overseas Service Program" -- John S. Dickey (L9-782), 1960	box 9
E -- General Files, 1951-1965	box 9
Education -- General, 1951-1964	box 9
Education of American Children Overseas, 1956-1957	box 9
Endowment Grants, 1964	box 9
Europe -- Melvin J. Fox -- European Trip, May-Jun 1963	box 9
Expiration Dates on ITR Grants -- Memoranda Re: Records, General, 1962-1964	box 9
Exchange of Persons, 1951-1952	box 10
Exchange of Persons, 1953	box 10
Exchange of Persons, 1952-1962	box 10
Exchange of Persons -- Melvin Fox Files -- Speeches, Reports, etc., 1955-1966	box 10
Exchange of Persons -- Task Force Paper, 1961-1965	box 10

F -- General Files, 1951-1966	box 10
Fellowship Program -- Announcements (see also press releases), 1952-1965	box 10
Fellowships -- Board of Overseas Training and Research (BOTR) -- Admission of Soviet and Slavic Area Training Scholarships, Oct 9-10, 1953	box 10
Fellowships -- Background Material on the International Training and Research (ITR) Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program, 1960-1961, Mar 16, 1961	box 10
Fellowships -- Foreign Area Fellowship Program (folder 1), 1961-1962	box 10
Fellowships -- Foreign Area Fellowship Program (folder 2), 1961-1962	box 10
Fellowships -- Foreign Area Fellowship Program -- Black Book, [1962-1963]	box 10
Fellowships -- Princeton Conference on Fellowship Program, Jul 23-24, 1954	box 10
Fellowships -- Princeton Meeting Re: African Fellows, Sep 10-11, 1956	box 10
Fellowships -- Meeting of Former Fellows at Gould House, Jan 31-Feb 1, 1958	box 10
Fellowships -- Fellowship Correspondence -- General File, 1952-1953	box 10
Fellowships -- Fellowship Correspondence -- General File, 1954-1955	box 10
Fellowships -- Fellowship Correspondence -- General File, 1956	box 10
Fellowships -- Fellowship Correspondence -- General File, 1957	box 10
Fellowships -- Fellowship Correspondence -- General File, 1958	box 10
Fellowships -- Fellowship Correspondence -- General File, 1958	box 10
Fellowships -- Fellowship Program -- General File, 1959-1961	box 10
Fellowships -- Fellowship Program -- General File (see also SSRC grant PA62-88), 1962	box 10
Fellowships -- International Training and Research (ITR), Travel and Study Awards Program (incl. INDEX) -- Internal Correspondence, 1955-1958	box 10
Fellowships -- International Training and Research (ITR), Travel and Study Awards Program -- Internal Correspondence, 1959-1960	box 10
Fellowships -- International Training and Research (ITR), Travel and Study Awards Program -- Internal Correspondence, 1961-1965	box 10

Fellowships -- International Training and Research (ITR), Travel and Study Awards Program -- Instructions Re: Procedures, 1958-1966	box 10
Fellowships -- International Training and Research (ITR), Travel and Study Awards Program -- Financial Reports from IIE, 1956-1959	box 11
Fellowships -- International Training and Research (ITR), Travel and Study Awards Program -- Financial Reports from IIE, 1960-1963	box 11
Fellowships -- International Training and Research (ITR), Travel and Study Awards Program (incl. INDEX) -- Docket Items, Program Actions (PA56-14), 1964	box 11
Fellowships -- Overseas Representatives -- General File -- Re: Fellowship Matters (see also individual country files), 1955	box 11
Fellowships -- Burma Office -- Fellowship Matters -- Correspondence, 1954	box 11
Fellowships -- India Office -- Fellowship Matters -- Correspondence, 1954	box 11
Fellowships -- Indonesia Office -- Fellowship Matters -- Correspondence, 1954-1961	box 11
Fellowships -- Near East Office -- Fellowship Matters -- Correspondence, 1961	box 11
Fellowships -- Pakistan Office -- Fellowship Matters -- Correspondence, 1954-1962	box 11
Fellowships -- Directory of Foreign Area Training Fellows, 1952-1959	box 11
Fellowships -- Ford Fellows in the Foreign Service Evaluation -- State Department Study, 1960-1962	box 11
Fellowships -- H.C.L. Merillat -- Review of Fellowship Program, 1960	box 11
Fellowships -- Howland Sargeant -- Evaluation of Overseas Training and Research Program -- General File, Recommendations, etc., 1954-1955	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Programs Evaluations, 1955	box 11
Fellowships -- Farm-Out of Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program to SSRC-ACLS, 1955-1962	box 11
Fellowships -- Medical Contingencies of Fellows While Overseas, 1954-1956	box 11
Fellowships -- Publications Resulting from Fellowships, 1956-1957	box 11
Fellowships -- Recruitment Report -- John M. Thompson, 1954	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Screening Committee, 1952-1953	

	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Screening Committee, 1954-1955	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Screening Committee, 1956	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Screening Committee, 1957	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Screening Committee, 1958	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Screening Committee, 1959-1969	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Screening Committees (excluding Law Faculty Fellowship Program), 1960-1961	box 11
Fellowships -- Foreign Area Training Fellowships Screening Committee Instructions, 1962-1963	box 11
Fellowships -- Foreign Area Fellowship Program Screening Committee Instructions, 1964-1965	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Statistics, 1952-1954	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Statistics, 1955	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Statistics, 1956	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Statistics, 1957	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Statistics, 1958	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Statistics, 1959	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Statistics, 1960	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Statistics, 1961	box 11
Fellowships -- Fellowship Statistics, 1962	box 11
Fellowships -- Foreign Area Fellowship Statistics, 1962-1963	box 11
Fellowships -- Africa, 1955	box 11
Fellowships -- Africa, 1956-1957	box 11
Fellowships -- Africa, 1958	box 11
Fellowships -- Africa, 1959	box 11
Fellowships -- Africa, 1960	box 11
Fellowships -- Africa, 1961	box 11
Fellowships -- Africa, 1962	box 11
Fellowships -- Asia and the Near East (for earlier years see "General"), 1955	box 11
Fellowships -- Asia and the Near East, 1956-1957	box 11
Fellowships -- Asia and the Near East, 1958	box 12
Fellowships -- Asia and the Near East, 1959	box 12

Fellowships -- Asia and the Near East -- Award Letters, 1960	box 12
Fellowships -- Asia and the Near East, 1961-1962	box 12
Fellowships -- Asia and the Near East, 1962	box 12
Fellowships -- Asia and the Near East -- Supplement for Training on Chinese Affairs, 1961-1962	box 12
Fellowships -- Asia and the Near East -- William W. Lockwood Report on Fellows Abroad, 1953	box 12
Fellowships -- Latin America, 1961	box 12
Fellowships -- Latin America, 1962	box 12
Fellowships -- Soviet and East European Program -- S.S. Meeting, Dec 3, 1955	box 12
Fellowships -- Soviet and East European Program Area, 1955	box 12
Fellowships -- Soviet and East European Program Area, 1956-1957	box 12
Fellowships -- Soviet and East European Program Area, 1958	box 12
Fellowships -- Soviet and East European Program Area, 1959	box 12
Fellowships -- Soviet and East European Program Area -- Award Letters, 1960	box 12
Fellowships -- Soviet and East European Program Area, 1961-1962	box 12
Fellowships -- International Relations Training Fellowship Program, 1955-1958	box 12
Fellowships -- "Refresher" Fellowships -- Support for Special Training Needs Under Asia-Near East Fellowship Program, 1955-1958	box 12
Fellowships -- Foundation-Administered Project -- Fellowships for Training Relating to Asia and the Near and Middle East, 1956	box 12
Fellowships -- Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program -- General -- Grants, 1952-1953	box 12
Fellowships -- Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program -- General -- Grants-in-Aid Program -- "Farmed-Out" Fellowship Program, 1955-1961	box 12
Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy -- Tufts University -- General File (incl. photographs), 1957	box 13
Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy -- Tufts University (L65-76), 1963-1966	box 13
Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy -- Tufts University (L65-76) -- Attachments -- Atlantic Community Studies Proposal, Jan 1964	box 13



Ford Foundation Programs and Developing Federal Activities, 1965	box 13
Ford Foundation -- Memoranda to and from Other Programs, 1963-1965	box 13
Ford Foundation -- Staff Relations with Prospective Grantees, 1965	box 13
Foreign Policy Association, 1961	box 13
Foreign Students -- General, 1953-1966	box 13
Foreign Students -- "Why Foreign Students" Report by Mr. Fox for Langmuir Committee, Sep 1961	box 13
Foreign Students -- Foreign Student Orientation (PA58-24), Jul 31, 1961	box 13
Fox, Melvin -- Memoranda Re: ITR Activities, International Studies, Workshops, Fellowships, Training Program, 1963-1966	box 13
Frankel, Charles -- "The Neglected Aspect of Foreign Affairs: American Educational and Cultural Policy Abroad", 1963-1965	box 13
G -- General Files, Correspondence, 1952-1966	box 13
Germany -- Berlin -- General Correspondence, 1951-1957	box 13
Grants/Fellowships -- Foundation Policy on Rejections, 1952-1965	box 13
Grants/Fellowships -- University of Colorado -- International Cooperative Research Project on Conflict Resolution, 1966	box 13
Grants/Fellowships -- University of Pennsylvania -- Comparative American Survey and Analysis of Values and Political Decisions (L65-201), 1965	box 13
Greece -- General Correspondence, 1951-1958	box 13
H -- General Correspondence, 1952-1966	box 13
Harvard University -- General, 1957-1965	box 13
Harvard -- Conference on Cultural Aid to Underdeveloped Areas (August 1-3, 1960), 1960-1961	box 13
Harvard -- Program of National Defense Studies, 1955	box 13
Harvard -- Public Health Role of University in International Health, 1961-1962	box 13
Hawaii -- General Correspondence, 1952-1953	box 13
Hawaii -- General Correspondence, 1954-1958	box 14
Hawaii -- General Correspondence, 1959-1963	box 14
Hawaii, University of -- The East-West Center, 1959-1964	box 14
Hawaii, University of -- International Studies, 1965-1966	

	box 14
Heussler, Robert -- Memoranda Re: Latin American Studies and Fellowships, 1963-1964	box 14
Historical Evaluation and Research Organization (HERO) -- Projects, 1963	box 14
Honolulu Academy of Arts -- Bishop Museum Proposal, 1958-1959	box 14
I -- General Files, Correspondence, Reports, etc., 1951-1966	box 14
India -- General, 1956-1960	box 14
India -- General -- Reports, Notes, etc., 1952-1959	box 14
India -- General Correspondence, 1960	box 14
India -- General Correspondence, 1961	box 14
India -- Program in Monetary Economics -- University of Bombay -- Alvin Hansen (PA57-192), 1956-1960	box 14
Indiana University -- General File, 1957-1960	box 14
Indiana University -- Background Material Long-Term Support (61-160), 1960-1963	box 14
Indiana and Notre Dame Universities -- Proposed Exchange -- Poland, 1959-1960	box 14
Indonesia -- General -- Reports, Correspondence, 1952-1960	box 14
Indonesia -- Education in Indonesia, [1955-1956]	box 14
Indonesia -- Field Research Problems in Indonesia (Peter Goethals), Jun 23, 1957	box 14
Indonesia -- General Correspondence, 1952	box 14
Indonesia -- General Correspondence, 1953	box 14
Indonesia -- General Correspondence, 1954	box 14
Indonesia -- General Correspondence, 1955	box 14
Indonesia -- General Correspondence, 1956	box 14
Indonesia -- General Correspondence, 1957-1958	box 14
Indonesia -- General Correspondence, 1959	box 14
Indonesia -- General Correspondence Incl. List of Grants Made between 1952 and 1954, 1960	box 14
Indonesia -- Grant Requests, 1954	box 14
Indonesia -- List of Books on Indonesia, 1955	box 14
Indonesia -- Personnel Post Report (ICA Post Report), Jan 1956	box 14
Indonesia -- Public Administration -- Dean Litchfield, 1953-1954	box 14

Indonesia -- Summary of Program for 1956-1957 -- Status Report, 1959	box 14
Indonesia -- Technical Teacher Training Program (53-113, also 53-23) -- Dunwoody Institute, 1953-1956	box 14
Indonesia, University of -- Dean Djokosutono -- National Police (L4-1695), 1954-1958	box 14
Indonesian English Language Teaching Projects (Various), 1952-1958	box 14
Institute of International Education (IIE), 1964-1965	box 15
Institute for Policy Studies -- Seminars on Alliance for Progress -- IA Program Grant (PA 64-127), 1962-1965	box 15
Institute of Pacific Relations, 1951-1961	box 15
International Association of Universities-UNESCO -- Study of Facilities for Higher Education in Southeast Asia (L 60-1034), 1959-1964	box 15
International Economic Development, 1956-1961	box 15
International Institute for Educational Planning -- Philip H. Coombs, 1963-1965	box 15
International Relations -- Conferences on the Teaching of International Relations -- Richard Snyder, 1956	box 15
International Relations Review Meeting, Feb 12, 1958	box 15
International Relations -- Teaching of IR (Mr. Merillat's file) -- Conferences, Proposals, Correspondence, Reports, 1955-1958	box 15
International Studies in American College Education and International Relations Programs, 1953-1957	box 15
International Studies -- Consultants on International Studies (non-Western) in Undergraduate Education -- Berger, Coppock, Elliot, 1962-1965	box 15
International Studies -- Consultants on International Studies (non-Western) in Undergraduate Education -- Gil, Hucker, Whitman, 1962-1963	box 15
International Studies -- Meeting on International Studies (non-Western) in Undergraduate Education at Ford Foundation (L 8-576), Jul 10, 1958	box 15
International Studies -- Meeting on International Studies (non-Western) in Undergraduate Education at Indiana University, Sep 18-20, 1958	box 15
International Studies -- Meeting on International Studies (non-Western) in Undergraduate Education at Ford Foundation (L 60-735), Dec 5, 1960	box 15

International Studies -- Meeting on International Studies (non-Western) in Undergraduate Education at Ford Foundation (L 61-54), Feb 16, 1961	box 15
International Studies (non-Western) in the Undergraduate Curriculum -- Retraining Faculty, 1961	box 15
International Studies (non-Western) in the Undergraduate Curriculum -- Williams College, 1963-1964	box 15
International Studies (non-Western) in the Undergraduate Curriculum -- General (folder 1), 1958-1966	box 15
International Studies (non-Western) in the Undergraduate Curriculum -- General (folder 2), 1958-1966	box 15
International Studies (non-Western) in the Undergraduate Curriculum -- General (folder 3), 1958-1966	box 15
International Studies -- Reports Re: Ford Foundation Missions to Asia, Possible Ford Foundation Activities in the Philippines, and Working Party on Near East, 1952-1957	box 15
Inter-University Consortium for Political Research -- Philip Converse (L63-259), 1963	box 16
Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants (61-105), 1960-1961	box 16
Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants -- Indiana and Columbia Universities (61-105), 1957-1959	box 16
Italy -- General Correspondence, 1951-1955	box 16
J -- General Files, 1961-1963	box 16
Japan -- Conference on Urbanization in Japan Held in Carmel, CA, Aug 11-17, 1959	box 16
Japan -- John Scott Everton Trip to Japan -- Documents Used in Preparation for Trip (1957), 1955-1957	box 16
Japan -- John S. Everton Trip to Japan (1957), 1957-1958	box 16
Japan -- General Correspondence, 1951-1953	box 16
Japan -- General Correspondence, 1954	box 16
Japan -- General Correspondence, 1955	box 16
Japan -- General Correspondence, 1956	box 16
Japan -- General Correspondence, 1957	box 16
Japan -- General Correspondence, 1958	box 16
Japan -- General Correspondence, 1959	box 16
Japan -- General Correspondence, 1960-1963	box 16
Japan -- ITR Program -- Relation to Other Programs, Everton 1961 Review, etc., 1960-1963	box 16

Japan -- Japanese-American Relations, Conference on -- Held in Princeton, Nov 1952	box 16
Japan -- "Japan and the Philippines" -- George Taylor Report, 1952	box 16
K -- General Files, 1952-1966	box 16
Kentucky, University of -- Training Program in Developmental Change (L 64-8), 1964	box 16
Kluckhohn, Florence R. -- Methods of Testing Value Orientation Theory (L 63-988), 1964	box 17
Korean Studies, 1965-1966	box 17
L -- General Files, 1952-1966	box 17
Language Development -- General, 1963-1965	box 17
Language Development -- National Defense Education Act, 1961-1962	box 17
Language Development -- Proposed Appropriation for Critical Foreign Languages, 1960	box 17
Language Development -- World Language Survey, 1962	box 17
Latin America Studies -- Conference on Area Studies, Latin American Programs held at the Plaza Hotel, Jan 18, 1963	box 17
Latin America Studies -- Draft Spaeth Survey Reports, 1963	box 17
Latin America Studies -- Harvard University, 1961-1964	box 17
Latin America Studies -- International Study Center, Inc. -- Richard H. Stephens (L65-171), 1965	box 17
Latin America Studies -- William S. Barnes Re: Proposal for Teaching and Research in Inter-American Affairs in the New England Area (L63-870), 1964-1965	box 17
M -- General Files, 1952-1966	box 17
MIT -- Labor Relations Research Program in India -- Myers, Charles, 1957	box 17
MIT, Harvard, University of Chicago and University of California -- Joint Research in Use of Human Resources -- Study of Labor as Factor in Economic Development (54-19), 1954	box 17
Michigan State University -- General, 1958-1963	box 17
Michigan State University -- Regional Meeting at MSU -- Committee on Regent Responsibility for University Participation in Education Abroad, Oct 5-6, 1961	box 17
Michigan, University of -- General, 1961-1964	box 17
Michigan Universities Consortium -- General File, 1966	box 17
Minnesota, University of -- General, 1960-1962	

	box 17
N -- General Files, Correspondence, 1951-1964	box 17
National University Extension Association Committee on World Affairs Meetings in Washington, Nov 11-12, 1960	box 17
Near East -- American University at Cairo, 1952-1963	box 17
Near East -- American University of Beirut, 1951-1964	box 17
Near East -- Financial Reports, General, 1953	box 17
Near East -- General Correspondence, 1953	box 18
Near East -- General Correspondence, 1954	box 18
Near East -- General Correspondence, 1955	box 18
Near East -- General Correspondence, 1956	box 18
Near East -- General Correspondence, 1957-1959	box 18
Near East -- General Correspondence, 1960	box 18
Near East -- General Correspondence, 1961-1964	box 18
Near East -- Harvey Hall Proposal -- Research Centers in Arab States, 1952-1954	box 18
Near East -- Iran, 1952-1956	box 18
Near East -- Iraq, 1953-1955	box 18
Near East -- Israel, 1953-1958	box 18
Near East -- Jordan, 1953-1956	box 18
Near East -- Lebanon, 1953-1954	box 18
Near East -- Mission, May 1952	box 18
Near East -- Press Release, 1952	box 18
Near East -- Reed, Howard -- Program Specialist in Training and Research, 1952-1958	box 18
Near East -- Regional, 1953-1954	box 18
Near East -- "Report of the Working Party on the Near East", n.d.	box 18
Near East -- Reports, 1953	box 18
Near East -- Reports, 1954	box 18
Near East -- Saudi Arabia, 1953	box 18
Near East -- Special Education Program for Arab States (Victor Butterfield Report), 1953-1957	box 18
Near East -- Syria, 1953-1954	box 18

Near East -- Training and Research Program -- General File (see also Howard Reed file) (L6-472), 1955-1958	box 18
Near East -- Turkey, 1953-1959	box 18
Near East -- Turkey -- University of Istanbul -- Institute of Business Administration, 1953-1956	box 18
Negro Education, 1963-1965	box 18
New York University -- Gould House Conference on International Education, Jan 1960	box 18
New York University -- Miscellaneous, 1954-1962	box 18
New York, University of the State of -- General, 1960-1963	box 18
O -- General, 1963	box 18
Ohio State University -- Miscellaneous, 1961-1962	box 18
Oregon, University of, 1962	box 18
Organization for Tropical Studies -- Jay Savage (L64-227), 1963-1966	box 18
Overseas Development Program -- Reports, General, 1954-1960	box 18
Overseas Representatives -- First Conference -- Beirut, Oct 6-8, 1953	box 18
Overseas Representatives -- Second Conference -- New York, Mar 1, 1954	box 18
Overseas Representatives -- Third Conference -- New York, Mar 17, 1955	box 18
Overseas Representatives -- Third Conference -- Black Book, Mar 1955	box 18
Overseas Representatives -- Fourth Conference -- New York, Oct 1956	box 19
Overseas Service -- Personnel Matters -- Policies and Procedures, 1954-1958	box 19
Overseas Service -- Training Americans for Overseas Service -- Conference Papers -- Princeton (L7-741), Nov 3-5, 1960	box 19
Overseas Service -- Training, 1953	box 19
Overseas Service -- Training, 1960-1961	box 19
Overseas Service -- Training, 1962-1963	box 19
Oxford University -- St. Anthony's College (Oxford) -- Development of Programs in East European and Asian Studies -- IA Grant (PA 59-173), 1958-1959	box 19
P -- General Files, 1955-1966	box 19

Pakistan -- Domestic Science -- Home Economics Program, 1952-1955	box 19
Pakistan -- Education Program, 1953-1958	box 19
Pakistan -- General, 1953-1958	box 19
Pakistan -- General Correspondence, 1951	box 19
Pakistan -- General Correspondence, 1952	box 19
Pakistan -- General Correspondence, 1953	box 19
Pakistan -- General Correspondence, 1954	box 19
Pakistan -- General Correspondence, 1955	box 19
Pakistan -- General Correspondence, 1956	box 19
Pakistan -- General Correspondence, 1957	box 19
Pakistan -- General Correspondence, 1958	box 19
Pakistan -- General Correspondence, 1959	box 19
Pakistan -- General Correspondence, 1960	box 19
Pakistan -- Grant Requests, 1954	box 19
Pakistan -- National Planning Board -- Development of a Five Year Plan, 1957	box 19
Pakistan -- Polytechnic Training Institute -- Industrial Training Centers, 1951-1954	box 19
Pakistan -- Public Administration, 1953-1958	box 19
Pakistan -- Report on Social Science Research in Pakistan by Moeen Qureshi, 1954	box 19
Pakistan -- Reports, 1953	box 19
Pakistan -- Reports, 1954	box 19
Pakistan -- Social Science Research Institute, 1954-1955	box 19
Pakistan -- Village Development Program, 1951-1954	box 19
Pennsylvania State University -- General File, 1958-1963	box 20
Personnel -- Study of the Availability of Personnel for Overseas Assignment (Gant-Sanders) (PA 62-449), 1962	box 20
Personnel -- Proposed Overseas Development Study of Personnel for Overseas Development (Hilliard), 1955-1963	box 20
Philippines -- General Correspondence, 1951-1953	box 20
Philippines -- General Correspondence, 1954-1962	box 20
Pittsburgh, University of, 1958-1963	box 20



Population -- American Committee, International Union for Research and Population (World Population Conference 1954), 1953-1958	box 20
Princeton University -- General, 1958-1963	box 20
Princeton University -- Long-Term Support -- Background Materials (61-362), 1961	box 20
Princeton University -- Stanley J. Stein, History Department, 1963-1964	box 20
Professional Education Program -- Correspondence, 1963-1965	box 20
Program Directors' Meetings, 1964-1965	box 20
Public Affairs -- General, 1964-1965	box 20
Purdue University -- Program of International Studies in Rural Development (L63-770), 1963-1965	box 20
R -- General Files, 1952-1966	box 20
Rabinowitz, Richard -- Personnel Component in Transcultural Affairs, 1960	box 20
Randolph-Macon -- Proposed Exchange with India, 1963	box 20
Rockefeller Foundation, 1956-1961	box 20
S -- General Files, 1951-1966	box 20
Slavic Studies -- Joint Committee on Slavic Studies, 1957-1958	box 20
Social Science Research Council -- General File, 1955-1966	box 20
Social Science Research Council -- Ten Year Grant for General Support (PA 56-140A), 1961	box 20
Southern California, University of, 1956-1961	box 20
Southern California, University of (L63-268 and later PA 63-413), 1964	box 20
Southern California, University of -- Soviet-Asian Studies -- R. Swearingen, 1960-1961	box 20
Southern California, University of -- Study of Communist Education (Theodore H.E. Chen), 1963-1965	box 20
Stanford University -- Comparative Education Program, 1960-1961	box 20
Stanford University -- General, 1955-1964	box 21
Stanford University -- Hoover Institute and Library -- General, 1955-1963	box 21
Syracuse University -- Maxwell School -- General, 1957-1964	box 21
T -- General Files, 1952-1966	box 21

Teachers College (Columbia University) -- Program on International Education, 1957-1961	box 21
Texas, University of, 1962	box 21
Thailand, 1955-1961	box 21
Technical Assistance Programs Incl. Report "Agricultural Credit in Selected Countries of Asia and the Near East with Suggestions for Activities to Improve Credit for Farmers" by V. Webster Johnson and Edwin C. Johnson, 1953-1965	box 21
Thurber, Clarence -- General File -- Various Research Projects, Ideas, Memoranda on Proposals, etc., 1954-1962	box 21
Thurber, Clarence -- Memoranda, Reports Re: International Training and Development, ITR Work, 1953-1962	box 21
Tibetan Studies, 1959-1961	box 21
Training of Foreign Nationals -- Africa, 1954-1955	box 21
Training of Foreign Nationals -- Burma, 1955	box 21
Training of Foreign Nationals -- General, 1955-1964	box 21
Training of Foreign Nationals -- India, 1955	box 21
Training of Foreign Nationals -- Indonesia, 1955	box 21
Training of Foreign Nationals -- William C. Johnstone, Jr., 1955	box 21
Training of Foreign Nationals -- Near East, 1955-1957	box 21
Training of Foreign Nationals -- Pakistan, 1955	box 21
Tufts University, 1960-1961	box 21
Tyner, Richard -- General File, 1965	box 21
U -- General Files, 1951-1966	box 21
UNESCO -- General Correspondence Re: UNESCO, 1951-1960	box 21
USSR -- ITR Faculty Exchanges Between American and Soviet Universities (Sep 1959 Ex. Comm. meeting), 1953-1961	box 21
USSR -- General Correspondence Re: USSR and East European Area, 1951-1954	box 21
USSR -- General Correspondence Re: USSR and East European Area, 1955	box 21
USSR -- General Correspondence Re: USSR and East European Area and Report Re: ITR in Soviet Areas, 1956	box 21
USSR -- General Correspondence Re: USSR and East European Area Incl. Materials on Libraries, Archives, 1957	box 21
USSR -- Institute for the Study of the USSR -- Jaan Pennar File (L 63-493), 1963	box 21

USSR -- International Training and Research -- Soviet and East European Area -- General, 1958	box 21
USSR -- International Training and Research -- Soviet and East European Area -- General, 1959	box 21
USSR -- International Training and Research -- Soviet and East European Area -- General, 1960-1961	box 21
USSR -- ITR File -- "Costs of the Instruments of the Soviet and East European Area", 1962-1964	box 21
USSR -- Soviet and East European Fellowship Conference -- Report Re: Training Fellowship, Oct 9-10, 1953	box 21
USSR -- Soviet Studies in the United States, 1955-1964	box 21
USSR -- Soviet Travel Reports Incl. Nevitt Sanford's Report on Trip to Russia, 1959	box 21
United Nations -- American Association for the United Nations (A-248), 1952-1954	box 21
United Nations -- Carnegie Endowment Study (A-794), 1952-1954	box 21
United Nations -- Conferences Re: UN, 1951-1952	box 22
United Nations -- General Correspondence Re: UN, 1952-1963	box 22
United Nations -- Food and Agriculture Organization -- Land Reform (B-72), 1952-1955	box 22
United Nations -- High Commissioner for Refugees (A-877), 1952-1954	box 22
United Nations -- Library (A-945), 1952-1959	box 22
United Nations -- National Citizens' Committee for UN Day (NY-164), 1951-1952	box 22
United Nations -- Studies and Programs Re: International Organization in General, 1952	box 22
United Nations -- Study of International Non-Governmental Organizations and Their Cooperation with the UN -- CCNGO (B-93), 1951-1952	box 22
United Nations -- U.S. National Commission for UNESCO -- 6th National Conference (Nov 6-9, 1957), 1957-1964	box 22
United Nations -- U.S. Policy with Respect to United Nations May 12-13, 1961 Conference Sponsored by Brookings and SAIS at Department of State, 1961	box 22
United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare -- National Defense Education Act, 1958 (folder 1), 1958-1959	box 22
United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare -- National Defense Education Act (folder 2), 1958-1959	box 22

United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare -- National Defense Education Act, 1959-1960	box 22
United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare -- National Defense Education Act Re: Language Studies, 1961	box 22
United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare -- National Defense Education Act, 1962	box 22
United States Department of State -- Foreign Service, 1962	box 22
United States Department of State -- Peace Corps, 1961-1963	box 22
United States Department of State -- Coombs-Harari -- ITR Recommendations on Education and Cultural Programs of State, 1961-1962	box 22
United States Department of State -- General, 1957-1964	box 22
United States Department of State -- Retired Foreign Service Officers and Other Government Employees as Prospective Teachers, 1962-1964	box 22
University Education -- The Fund for the Advancement of Education -- Board of Directors Meeting Materials, Jan 23, 1961	box 22
V -- General Correspondence, 1952-1966	box 22
W -- General Correspondence, Reports, 1952-1966	box 22
Washington, University of -- Miscellaneous, 1957-1963	box 22
Wesleyan University, 1958-1961	box 22
West European Studies -- American University, 1963-1964	box 23
West European Studies -- California, University of, 1963	box 23
West European Studies -- Conference (May 24-25, 1963), 1963	box 23
West European Studies -- Conference (Nov 1, 1963), 1963	box 23
West European Studies -- Swayzee File -- Conference Notes, Trip Itineraries, Correspondence, Reports, 1963-1965	box 23
West European Studies -- General File, Cleon O. Swayzee Working Papers, etc., 1962-1963	box 23
White House Conference on Education, Jul 20-21, 1965	box 23
Windsor, University of, 1965	box 23
Wisconsin, University of -- General, 1962-1963	box 23
World Brotherhood -- Compton-Clinchy, 1953-1958	box 23
World Law Fund -- Proposal for General Support (L 66-88), 1966	box 23
World Peace Through Law (folder 1), 1964-1966	box 23
World Peace Through Law (folder 2), 1964-1966	box 23

World University Service, 1961-1962	box 23
World University Service, 1962-1965	box 23
X-Y -- General Correspondence, 1953-1964	box 23
Yale University -- Center for Comparative Study of National Economic Growth and Structure (Lloyd Reynolds Proposal), 1959	box 23
Yale University (Sidney Mintz, Chairman, Council of Latin American Studies), 1963-1964	box 23
Yale University -- General (folder 1), 1954-1962	box 23
Yale University -- General (folder 2), 1954-1962	box 23
Yugoslavia, 1961	box 23
Z -- General Correspondence, 1951-1954	box 23

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)