

Ford Foundation records, International Affairs records

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Table of Contents

Summary Information	3
Biographical/Historical note	3
Scope and Contents	10
Arrangement	10
Administrative Information	10
Collection Inventory	11
Administrative Papers	11
Paris Office	14
Grants	15
Arms Control	17
Exchanges	19
Conferences	21

Summary Information

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^ Return to Table of Contents

Biographical/Historical note

The International Affairs Department was part of the International Division of the Ford Foundation from the 1950's until the mid-1980's. A main focus of the department was to strengthen cultural, economic, and political ties between countries. It did this through organizing seminars and conferences on international issues, and awarding grants for research and action in various countries in need. The department supported scientific and scholarly exchanges with various countries and opened several international offices, including the Paris Office, to facilitate communication and programming overseas.

^ Return to Table of Contents

Biographical / Historical

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 aspiration#al 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.

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' 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

Biographical / Historical

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 records documenting: administration, the Paris office, grants, arms control, exchanges and conferences.

^ Return to Table of Contents

Arrangement

Arranged in 6 series: Series I: Administrative papers. Series II: Paris Office. Series III: Grants. Series IV: Arms Control. Series V: Exchanges. Series VI: Conferences.

^ Return to Table of Contents

Administrative Information

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.

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Collection Inventory

Administrative Papers, 1955-1983

Scope and Contents note

The administrative records contain general memoranda, policy and directives notes, early project planning, reviews and evaluations of ongoing projects, financial documents (including appropriations reports), procedures, and questionnaires. It also includes the files of some staff members, including Craufurd Goodwin and Richard Catalano, which contain correspondence, reports, memoranda, and meeting notes.

Title/Description	Instances
Appropriations reports, 1972-1975	box 1
Catalano Files - Advisory directives, 1966	box 1
Catalano Files - Budget requests, 1967	box 1

[^] Return to Table of Contents

Catalano Files - East, West, and China reports, 1966	box 1
Catalano Files - Europe-Atlantic cooperation - reports, 1966	box 1
Catalano Files - Grants - active, 1967	box 1
Catalano Files - Grants - anticipated renewals, 1967	box 1
Catalano Files - Grants - Institutional Development and Exchanges, 1967	box 1
Catalano Files - Grants - Latin America, 1967	box 1
Catalano Files - Internal operations - reports and evaluations, 1966	box 1
Catalano Files - Law, international, 1965-1967	box 1
Catalano Files - Law organizations, 1965	box 1
Catalano Files - Law, pending projects, 1965	box 1
Catalano Files - Law proposals, 1963-1969	box 1
Catalano Files - Law, restrictive trade practices, 1966	box 1
Catalano Files - Office of International Relations - files transferred, 1967	box 1
Catalano Files - Pacific regions - reports, 1966	box 1
Catalano Files - Policy papers, 1965-1967	box 1
Catalano Files - Projects, pending, 1967	box 1
Catalano Files - Proposals - British Universities, 1967	box 1
Catalano Files - Science, general, 1966	box 1
Catalano Files - Science policy, Europe, undated	box 1
Catalano Files - Science projects, ideas, 1966	box 1
Catalano Files - Technology papers, 1966	box 1
Catalano Files - U.N. Commission on International Trade Law, 1966-1967	box 1
Catalano Files - U.S. World affairs and American Studies - reports, 1966	box 1
Catalano Files - World Cooperation and International Order - reports, 1966	box 1
Committee on Citizen Education in World Affairs - background information, 1966	box 1
Committee on Citizen Education in World Affairs - consultants, 1964-1965	box 1
Committee on Citizen Education in World Affairs - proposals and appropriations, 1966	box 1
Country research papers, 1967	

	box 1
East and West Europe review, 1967	box 1
Financial documents and memoranda, "important", 1968-1969	box 1
General administrative files, 1965-1968	box 1
Goodwin Files - Affirmative action, 1974-1975	box 1
Goodwin Files - Bader, William, 1970-1972	box 1
Goodwin Files - Bell, David, 1970-1971	box 1
Goodwin Files - Bell, David, 1972-1973	box 1
Goodwin Files - Bellagio conference (COATS), 1977	box 1
Goodwin Files - Branson, William, 1973-1974	box 1
Goodwin Files - Budgets, 1973	box 2
Goodwin Files - Budgets, 1973-1978	box 2
Goodwin Files - Bundy, McGeorge, 1971-1978	box 2
Goodwin Files - Chronological files (miscellaneous), 1977-1978	box 2
Goodwin Files - Comparitive systems, 1973	box 2
Goodwin Files - Education correspondence - Howe, Meane, Ward, 1971-1975	box 2
Goodwin Files - Education in Europe, management, 1969	box 2
Goodwin Files - Gordon, S.T., 1970-1971	box 2
Goodwin Files - Grants, research procedures, 1971	box 2
Goodwin Files - Grants - Employee standards for grantees, 1972	box 2
Goodwin Files - Grants, summaries, 1969	box 2
Goodwin Files - International Division conference, 1971	box 2
Goodwin Files - International peace, security, and arms control, 1983	box 2
Goodwin Files - International subcommittees, 1967-1969	box 2
Goodwin Files - London trip with Kennedy, 1972	box 2
Goodwin Files - Memoranda, 1972-1976	box 2
Goodwin Files - Pending files, 1978	box 2
Goodwin Files - Programs, future planning, 1976	box 2
Goodwin Files - Program related investments, 1972	box 2
Goodwin Files - Projects and travel, 1975-1977	box 2
Goodwin Files - Public management, 1972	box 2

Goodwin Files - Race and ethnicity, 1977-1979	box 2
Goodwin Files - Resource bases, 1971	box 2
Goodwin Files - Russia and Poland trip, 1971	box 2
Goodwin Files - Silj, A., 1971-1973	box 2
Goodwin Files - Social Science paper, responses, 1976	box 2
Goodwin Files - Sutton, F.X., 1979-1980	box 2
Goodwin Files - Tax laws, 1972-1974	box 3
Goodwin Files - Technological innovation - Kahn, "The Next 33 Years: a Framework for Speculation", 1967	box 3
Goodwin Files - U Thant correspondence, 1971-1972	box 3
International studies - reports, mailing list, 1976-1977	box 3
Policy directives, 1957	box 3
Programs - American studies, 1965	box 3
Programs - Cultural Affairs, 1957-1962	box 3
Programs - important memoranda, 1959-1966	box 3
Programs - Language, proposal, 1978	box 3
Programs - Smaller European countries, 1965-1966	box 3
Programs - Trustees future planning, 1976	box 3
Programs - War, Peace, and Cooperation Among Nations, proposals, 1976	box 3
Public opinion and international affairs, 1957-1968	box 3
Self study, Office of International Relations, 1966-1969	box 3
Status reports - Appropriations, 1969-1978	box 3
Strategy paper - Office of International Relations, 1966	box 3
University International support, 1968-1970	box 3

Paris Office, 1960-1976

Scope and Contents note

The Paris Office was open from 1970 until 1975. Its primary functions were to provide a European base for the International Affairs Department and to perform liaison services for other offices. William Bader ran the office with assistance from Marion Bieber. The files contain memoranda about policy and procedures between the Paris Office and various other offices, including New York. They also contain annual reports, circulars from Paris and

other European foundations, and minutes from the European Luncheon Club, which was a periodic meeting where projects were discussed.

Title/Description	Instances
Bieber Files - Financial arrangements for closing, 1974-1976	box 3
Bieber Files - Goodwin correspondence, 1975-1976	box 3
Bieber, Marion and Bader, William - general memoranda, 1972	box 3
Bieber, Marion and Goodwin - general memoranda, 1973-1976	box 3
Bieber, Marion and Silj - general memoranda, 1972-1973	box 3
Closure of Paris Office - memoranda, 1974-1975	box 3
Communications coordination - Athens, Spain, 1960-1971	box 3
Conferences, seminars, meetings, 1973-1974	box 3
Correspondence protocols between NY and Paris offices, 1970-1971	box 3
Development of European office, 1967-1971	box 3
European Luncheon club, 1970	box 3
European Luncheon Club, 1970-1973	box 4
Goodwin files - general memoranda, 1970-1973	box 4
Goodwin files - general memoranda, 1971	box 4
Information circulars - outgoing, 1971-1972	box 4
Information circulars - outgoing, 1972-1973	box 4
International studies - Europe, memoranda, 1974-1975	box 4
Lease for Paris Office, 1970-1972	box 4
Lease for Reid Hall - memoranda, 1975-1976	box 4
Local consultants - memoranda, 1972	box 4
Memoranda - general, 1970	box 4
Memoranda - general, 1973	box 4
Memoranda - general, 1976	box 4
Opening of the Paris Office, 1970	box 4

[^] Return to Table of Contents

Grants, 1950-1981

Scope and Contents note

The International Affairs Department awarded grants for programs of world-wide scope, including education, exchanges, and aid in Atlantic and European countries and Pacific and East Asian regions. Grants also supported research and projects in East-West relations, and US foreign policy and understanding. The grants ranged from a few thousand to a few million dollars. These records consist of applications, proposals, evaluations, reports and all other supporting documents pertaining to the International Affairs grant program. Included are grants in support of the International Economic Order, the Young Leaders Project, Soviet Russia and Eastern European projects, and education about international affairs, such as language and cultural studies courses. The grant files also contain materials from Travel and Study grants and several grant competitions.

Title/Description	Instances
American Studies papers - grant supported, 1967-1976	box 4
Canadian based institutions - grants, 1969-1976	box 4
China - grants, 1968	box 4
Common Problems of Advanced Industrial Society, 1976	box 4
East Asia, Australia, New Zealand - grants, 1968	box 4
Eastern Europe - grants, 1964-1974	box 4
English as a Second Language - Queben conference, 1961-1967	box 4
English as a Second Language - Hungary, 1961-1967	box 4
English as a Second Language - Japan, 1961-1967	box 4
English as a Second Language - programs, 1961-1967	box 4
Environment - grants, 1971	box 4
Europe - grants, 1970-1979	box 4
Europe and Canada - list of grants, 1970-1971	box 4
Europe and Canada - programs, 1967-1969	box 4
France and Germany - grants, 1951-1978	box 4
Grantee publications, 1969-1974	box 4
Grantee publications - annual reports, 1975-1977	box 4
Greece and Italy - grants, 1967-1972	box 4
Hungarian Refugee grants, 1957-1963	box 4
Internation Affairs programs grants, 1951-1968	box 4
International Economic Order - Announcements and grantees, 1972-1977	box 4
International Economic Order - Correspondence, 1973-1980	box 5
International Economic Order - International correspondence, 1978-1979	box 5
International Economic Order - Progress reports, 1974-1976	box 5

International Economics - EIA grants, 1963-1981	box 5
International Economics - EIA grants, 1970-1981	box 5
International Economics - Grantees, 1973-1977	box 5
International Law - grants, 1963-1971	box 5
International Training and Research grants, 1951-1966	box 5
Japan - grants, 1968-1973	box 5
List of grants for fiscal year, 1969	box 5
List of grants by program categories, 1950-1966	box 5
"Noteworthy" grants, 1969	box 5
Russian Research competition - Evaluations, 1975	box 5
Scandinavia - grants, 1967-1972	box 5
Scholars - grants, 1981	box 5
Soviet / Eastern Europe Research competition, 1974-1975	box 5
Soviet / Eastern Europe Research competition, 1975	box 5
Travel and Study grants, 1969	box 5
Travel and Study grants, 1964	box 5
Travel and Study grants - Awards, 1961-1967	box 5
Travel and Study grants - Basic materials, 1965	box 5
Travel and Study grants - Europe, 1957-1971	box 5
Travel and Study grants - lists of grants, 1957-1973	box 5
Two-Keys - Correspondence, 1972-1973	box 5
Two-Keys - European grants, 1968-1973	box 5
"Umbrella" project proposals, 1965	box 5
United Nations - grants, 1968-1972	box 5
Women - grants list, 1980	box 5
Young Leaders Project - correspondence, 1965-1966	box 5
Young Leaders Project - discussion and comments, 1965-1966	box 5
Young Leaders Project - Latin America, UK, US, 1965-1966	box 6
Young Leaders Project - program layout, 1965-1966	box 6

Arms Control, 1969-1979

Scope and Contents note

A key program of the International Affairs Department focused on arms control research. These files contain documents supporting the goals of the arms control program, including setting up academic centers of training and research, an educational program for defense analysts or defense "managers", and training of arms control specialists from less developed countries. In addition, these records include publications from the US Department of State and the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The arms control program also supported a grant contest for research into arms control issues and solutions. Many of these grants supported conflict study programs in universities such as Harvard and MIT.

Title/Description	Instances
Appropriations for research, 1973	box 6
Articles - PRC Arms Control, France and China, undated	box 6
Competition - Arms Control - letters to winners and losers, evaluations, 1976	box 6
Competition - Arms Control - planning, 1977	box 6
Competition - Arms Control - rejected proposals (sample), 1976	box 6
Ford Foundation Arms Control activities - documents, 1971-1977	box 6
Ford Foundation Arms Control activities - documents, 1972-1974	box 6
Ford Foundation concerns with Peace and International Security, 1974	box 6
Meeting - Arms Control, 1974	box 6
Outside Evaluators - Centers for Research and Training in International Security and Arms Control, 1977-1978	box 6
Outside Evaluators - Kaysen Report on the Foundation and Arms Control, 1973	box 6
Papers on Arms Control, 1971-1974	box 6
Programs in International Security and Arms Control, 1979	box 6
Programs in Arms Control and International Security, 1972	box 6
SALT (Stategic Arms Limitation Talks) documents, 1969-1973	box 6
Seminar - Pittsburgh - Department of State publications, 1978	box 6
Seminar - Pittsburgh - Miscellaneous publications, 1978	box 6
Seminar - Pittsburgh - US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency publications, 1978	box 6
Seminar - US and Japan Defense Relations - NYC, 1979	box 6
Seminar - US and Japan Defense Relations - Proposal by Institute of War and Peace Studies, 1979	box 6

^ Return to Table of Contents

Exchanges, 1954-1970

Scope and Contents note

The International Affairs Department supported scientific and scholarly exchanges with Eastern Europe, including the USSR. The programs include scholarly exchanges in Poland, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. Also supported were an Artists in Residence program in Berlin, funding for Hungarian Student Refugees to study abroad, and scientist exchanges in the USSR and various other countries.

Title/Description	Instances
Rerlin Artists in Residence - General 1963-1965	box 7

Related Materials:

Related Materials

See also Ford Foundation grant 06300351 (PA63-351), German Academic Exchange Service, PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG AND RENOWNED CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL LEADERS TO WORK AND TO VISIT BERLIN.

Scope and Contents

Artist-In-Residence grantees include: Russero Albanese, Carlos Alsina-Roque, Gilbert Amy, Louis Andriessen, Wystan H. Auden, Ingeborg Bachmann, Angelica Behrmann, Enrique Belloc, Frederic Benrath, Eric Bentley, Elaza Benyoetz-Koppel, Luciano Berio, Michel Butor, Elliott Carter, Joel Chadabe, Mario Cravo, Alvin Curran, Franco Di Carlo, Roberto Dionisio, Wojciech Fangor, Ruth Francken-Steinreich, Alberto Ginastera, Vinko Globokar, Marvin Goldstein, Witold Gombrowicz, Dagmar Hader, Werner Haderer, Hans-Werner Henze, Peter Heyworth, Shirley Jaffe, Gerard Koch, Hans Koellreutter, Morcedes Kruschewsky, Klaus Matthes, Rudiger Rufer, Filipe Pires, Joachim Prenzlow, Lucio Raccanelli, Piers P. Read, Antonio Reboucas, Remo Remotti, Klaus Roehler, Frederic Rzewski, Hans-Dietrich Sander, William Scott, Roger Sessions, Gin Stefani, James Sutcliffe, Yuji Takahashi, Emilio Vedova, Roman Vlad, Paul Westheim, Yannis Xenakis, and Isang Yun.

Berlin Artists in Residence - Karl Haas, 1963	box 7
Bulgarian awards, 1968-1969	box 7
Eastern European Programs - Communist controlled countries, 1957-1960	box 7
Eastern European Programs - Finances and Appropriations, 1964-1968	box 7
Eastern European Programs - General, 1957-1968	box 7
Eastern European Programs - Prospects, 1957-1968	box 7
Eastern European Programs - Reports, 1965-1968	box 7

Eastern European Programs - Selection team candidates, 1964-1967	box 7
Eastern European Programs - Statistics, press releases, general information, 1961-1968	box 7
Eastern European Programs - Trips to East Europe, 1968	box 7
European trips and Conversations - Eugene Staples, 1967	box 7
Hungarian Awards and Correspondence, 1966-1969	box 7
Hungarian Program, 1965-1966	box 7
Hungarian Refugee Students - approprations, 1956-1963	box 7
Hungarian Refugee Student program, 1956-1960	box 7
Hungary - Reports - Institute of International Education, 1965-1969	box 7
Polish Exchange - Application form, selectees, grantees, 1957-1959	box 7
Polish Exchange - Background and Guidelines for selection team, 1961	box 7
Polish Exchange - Candidates, Awards, Selections, 1963-1970	box 7
Polish Exchange - Docket items, 1958	box 7
Polish Exchange - General information, 1957-1961	box 7
Polish Exchange - Missions, 1957-1959	box 7
Polish Exchange - Reports - Institute of International Education, 1967-1968	box 7
Polish Exchange - Selection team material - Mr. Stone's folder, 1958-1959	box 7
Polish Exchange - Statistics, 1957-1965	box 7
Polish Exchange - Statistics and Roundtable, 1957-1969	box 7
Rumanian Program - Candidates, 1964-1966	box 7
Rumanian Program - General Information, 1963-1965	box 7
USSR - Appropriations - scholarly exchange, 1959-1963	box 7
USSR - Cultural Exchange, 1959-1960	box 7
USSR - Exchange of Scientists agreement, 1959	box 7
USSR - General, 1953-1959	box 7
Yugoslavian Program - Awardees, 1963-1969	box 7
Yugoslavian Program - Background, 1958-1967	box 7
Yugoslavian Program - Candidates and selections, 1966-1969	box 7

Yugoslavian Program - General information, 1954-1960	box 7
Yugoslavian Program - Mission Briefing documents, 1963	box 7
Yugoslavian Program - Projects, 1965-1967	box 7
Yugoslavian Program - Reports, 1959-1969	box 7

Conferences, 1954-1978

Scope and Contents note

Conferences were hosted or sponsored by the International Affairs Department in support of its mission of outreach and education. These records include planning and meeting notes, agendas, programs, correspondence and lists and biographies of participants. The conferences covered various international topics, including European Development and Policy, Higher Education, and Foreign Cultures. Conferences took place in Japan, Versailles, the US, and several other places.

Title/Description	Instances
Ditchley Park Higher Education Meeting, 1964	box 8
Ditchley Park Higher Education Meeting - Transcripts (3 folders), 1964	box 8
European and American Foundation Executives Meeting - Villa Serbelloni - Bellagio, 1969	box 8
European and American Foundation Executives Meeting - Villa Serbelloni - Bellagio - Correspondence, 1969	box 8
European Overseas Development Meeting - Fregene, Italy, 1961	box 8
Ford Foundation Europe conference, 1971	box 8
International Division Conference - New York, 1973	box 8
International Press Institute Meeting at Ford Foundation, 1965	box 8
Japanese Conference (first) - Dartmouth College, NH (3 folders), 1962	box 8
Japanese Conference (second) - Kurashiki, Japan, 1964	box 8
Japanese Conference (third) - Williamsburg, VA - Agenda and schedule, 1967	box 8
Japanese Conference (third) - Williamsburg, VA - Participants, American and Japanese, 1967	box 8
Japanese Conference (third) - Williamsburg, VA - Roundtable papers, 1967	box 8
Miscellaneous sponsored conferences, 1954-1967	box 8
Policy Studies in Europe - Versailles, 1977-1978	box 8