

# Ford Foundation records, International Division, Asia and the Pacific, Manila Field Office Files

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## **Table of Contents**

Summary Information	3
Biographical / Historical	3
Scope and Contents	9
Arrangement	10
Administrative Information	10
Related Materials	11
Collection Inventory	11
Subject Files, May 1987 Accession	11
Subject Files	14
Subject Files, 1978 Accession	15
Subject Files, November 1981 Accession	17

## **Summary Information**

**Repository:** Rockefeller Archive Center

**Creator:** Ford Foundation

**Title:** Ford Foundation records, International Division, Asia and the Pacific,

Manila Field Office Files

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**Physical Description:** 32.4 Cubic Feet

**Physical Description:** 27 boxes. Boxes 10 and 13 are legal size document boxes.

Language of the

**Material:** 

English

#### **Preferred Citation note**

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## **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,

<sup>^</sup> Return to Table of Contents

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

^ Return to Table of Contents

## **Biographical / Historical**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

^ Return to Table of Contents

## **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 to1976, 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 subject files.

## Arrangement

Arranged in series by accession.

^ Return to Table of Contents

#### **Administrative Information**

#### **Publication Statement**

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#### **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 Use note**

Completion of a use agreement is required prior to providing scholarly access. See RAC Head of Reference (or applicable designee) for details. Ford Foundation holds title, copyright and literary rights in the collection, in so far as it holds them. The Rockefeller Archive Center has authority to grant permission to cite and publish material from the collection for scholarly purposes. Permission to publish extensive excerpts, or material in its entirety, will be referred to the Ford Foundation.

## **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.

#### **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. Researchers interested in accessing digital media (floppy disks, CDs, DVDs, etc.) or audiovisual material (audio cassettes, VHS, etc.) in this collection must use an access surrogate. The original items may not be accessed because of preservation concerns. To request an access surrogate be made, or if you are unsure if there is an access surrogate, please contact an archivist.

^ Return to Table of Contents

#### **Related Materials**

#### **Separated Materials**

Appendix A: Reports – Unpublished reports written by Ford Foundation staff and consultants were removed from their original folders, scanned and transferred to the Archives' collection of staff and consultant reports. See Appendix A for a list of these reports and their specific assigned number. The reports are listed in alphabetical order by author. The assigned number may be used to access reports in the online catalog.

^ Return to Table of Contents

## **Collection Inventory**

Title/Description	Instances
Agricultural Development Council (A/D/C), 1963-1981	box 1
Agriculture (2), 1978-1981	box 1
Arms Control, 1979-1981	box 1
Arts (2), 1973-1981	box 1
Asian Development Bank, 1966-1981	box 1
Asian Institute of Technology, 1970-1980	box 1
Association of Foundations Local Foundations, 1972-1977	box 1
Business, Management and Industrial Development, 1973-1981	box 1

Center for Research and Communications, 1975-1981	box 1
China Memorandum Re: China Visit (Bell, Robinson, Bresnan, and Travers, September 1979), Sep 24, 1979	box 1
Committee on the Management of Behavioral Studies in Population (COMBEP), 1975-1977	box 2
Committee for Comparative Behavioral Studies in Population (740-0566), 1977	box 2
Computer Use in Developing Countries, Data Analysis Seminars, 1970-1980	box 2
Creative Writing in Southeast Asia Robert Shaplen, 1979	box 2
Development Academy of the Philippines, 1974-1978	box 2
Development Administration General, 1967-1979	box 2
East-West Center, University of Hawaii, 1963-1981	box 2
Economic Development Foundation, 1964-1977	box 2
Employment in Less Developed Countries, 1970-1979	box 3
Engineering and Technical Education Incl. Reports Re: Engineering in the Philippines, 1970-1978	box 3
Fawcett, James Correspondence, 1974-1977	box 3
Harvard University Public Service Fellowship Program, 1958-1981	box 3
Indonesia General (2), 1975-1981	box 3
Institute for International Education, 1968-1980	box 3
International Council for Educational Development (ICED) "Operation Magdamayan", 1977-1978	box 3
International Committee on the Management of Population Programmes (3), 1976-1980	box 4
International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), 1964-1979	box 4
International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP), 1976-1977	box 4
International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) General and Conference, Manila (December 1981), 1980-1981	box 4
Japan, 1970-1981	box 4
Korean Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences (KIRBS) and COMBEP, 1972-1981	box 4
Language Teaching (3), 1970-1980	box 4
Meetings International Division, Irrigation and Social Science Research, Representatives' Conferences, 1977-1980	box 5

Meetings (2) Bangkok and New Delhi Meetings Re: Arts, Culture, Agriculture, 1980-1981	box 5
Migration Ford Foundation and Rockefeller Foundation Research Program, 1979-1980	box 5
Mindanao Development, 1964-1978	box 5
Mindanao Development Incl. Reports Re: Ethnic Conflict, 1978-1980	box 5
Mindanao Development Davao, 1973-1974	box 5
Miscellaneous (2), 1976-1979	box 6
New International Economic Order, 1976-1980	box 6
Nutrition, 1978-1982	box 6
Pennsylvania State University Agricultural Economics, 1978-1979	box 6
Philippine Council for Policy Science, 1976-1977	box 6
Philippines, University of Economics in Demography, 1976-1977	box 6
Philippines, University of (UP) General (folder 1), 1971-1981	box 6
Philippines, University of (UP) General (folder 2), 1971-1981	box 6
Population Center Foundation (PCF) Staff Development Program, 1975-1977	box 6
Population Materials Reports, Proposals, 1978	box 7
Population Meetings Joint Ford Foundation and Population Council, 1975-1976	box 7
Population Office New York (2), 1975-1980	box 7
Population Policy Research in the Social Sciences (Ford-Rockefeller) (4), 1976-1977	box 7
Population Policy Research in the Social Sciences (Ford-Rockefeller) (5), 1977-1981	box 7
Population Reports William Sweeney (2), 1974-1980	box 7
Population Thailand General, 1976-1977	box 8
Population and Management General, 1971-1976	box 8
Program for the Introduction and Adaptation of Contraceptive Technology (PIACT), 1976-1979	box 8
Refugees (2), 1979-1981	box 8
Reports (Consultants) Pulled for Scanning (June 1987), n.d.	box 8
Rockefeller Foundation, 1963-1978	box 8

Rural Development Thailand, 1973-1977	box 8
Science Education, 1970-1976	box 9
Social Sciences, 1970-1979	box 9
Southeast Asian and Resources and Environment Conferences, 1977-1979	box 9
Status of Women Reports Re: Women in Development, Education, Working Women, International Division's Women's Program Group, 1979-1980	box 9
Status of Women Reports, Memoranda, Women's Program Group (5), 1980-1981	box 9
Thailand (3), 1974-1980	box 9
United Nations Development Programme (2), 1976-1984	box 10
Value of Children (3), 1975-1978	box 10

Title/Description	Instances
Inventory of I.E.C. Materials for the Philippine Population Program, 1969-1977, 1977	box 11
Audio Cassette Technology, Oct 1973	box 11
Ford Foundation Grants to Mindanao State University, May 1972	box 11
Southeast Asia Fellowship Program Basic Grant Documents, 1971-1977	box 11
Southeast Asian Studies Program, 1976-1981	box 11
Southeast Asian Studies Program (2), 1970-1972	box 11
Southeast Asian Studies Program (3), 1972-1975	box 11
Population Reports William Sweeney, 1973-1976	box 11
Status of Women, 1975-1977	
Status of Women (3), 1977-1979	box 12
Economic Education (3), 1976-1980	box 12
Chiengmai Social Sciences, 1975	box 12
Asian Productivity Organization, 1969-1971	box 12
Agriculture (10), 1977-1978	box 12
Community and Family Study Center, 1975-1976	box 12

Southeast Asian Studies Fellowship Advisory Committee Kuala Lumpur, Nov 24-27, 1975	box 12
Southeast Asian Fellowship Program General, 1975-1978	box 12
Southeast Asian Fellowship Program (SEAFP) Advisory Committee Meeting, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Nov 26-27, 1975	box 12
Southeast Asia Fellowship Program Grant Reports, 1976-1979	box 13
Southeast Asia Studies (689-0872) Grant to the Faculty of Graduate Studies, Mahidol University, 1974-1976	box 13
Southeast Asia Fellowship Program (SEAFP) Finance, 1974-1976	box 13
Future Directions, 1975	box 13

Title/Description	Instances
Abola Study, 1969	box 14
Admissions Procedures and Admissions Testing Materials, 1969-1970	box 14
Agricultural Modernization, 1969-1971	box 14
Arts, 1968-1973	box 14
Association of Colleges of Agriculture in the Philippines, Inc., 1963-1971	box 14
Association of Southeast Asian Institutions of Higher Learning (ASAIHL), 1966	box 14
Ateneo de Davao College Correspondence, 1961-1973	box 14
Business, Economics, Management and Industrial Development General, 1964-1970	box 14
Business, Economics, Management and Industrial Development General (2), 1970-1973	box 14
Central Mindanao University, 1960-1974	box 15
Central Philippine University, 1964-1972	box 15
Computers, 1963-1969	box 15
Overseas Development Conferences Agricultural Development Mexico City, Sep 1964	box 15
Overseas Development Conferences, 1967-1970	box 15
Conferences Asia-Pacific Education, Oct 1970	box 15

Conferences (Local) Foundation, 1968-1972	box 15
Conference Local Cooperative Relationships with U.S. Libraries, Nov 1970	box 15
Cultural Center for the Philippines, 1967	box 15
EROPA General, 1962-1976	box 15
Economic Education, 1967-1971	box 15
Foreign Area Fellowship Program, 1964-1974	box 16
Foundation for Private Education in the Philippines, Inc., 1964-1967	box 16
Foxfire, 1973	box 16
Franklin Book Programs, Inc., 1963-1966	box 16
Language Teaching General, 1964-1971	box 16
Law Development General, 1962-1973	box 16
Metropolitan Educational Television Association, 1963-1966	box 16
Metropolitan Educational Television Association (META), 1965-1967	box 16
National Science Development Board Institute of Food Technology, 1964-1967	box 16
New York State University of New York (SUNY) Program, 1970-1975	box 16
Pakistan Planning Project, 1964-1967	box 17
Perkin, Gordon, 1968-1969	box 17
Philippine Political Development (McHale Manuscript), 1964	box 17
Philippines Rural Reconstruction Movement, 1961-1972	box 17
Philippines General Information, 1961-1963	box 17
Philippines Program Implementation Agency Planning and Programming Training Institute Correspondence, 1962-1963	box 17
Population and Family Planning General (1), 1963-1968	box 17
Population and Family Planning General (2), 1969-1970	box 17
Population and Family Planning General (3), 1970-1971	box 17
Population and Family Planning General (4), 1971	box 17
Population and Family Planning General (5), 1971-1972	box 18
Population and Family Planning General (6), 1971-1972	box 18
Population and Family Planning Family Planning Organization of the Philippines, 1965-1969	box 18

Regional Population Education (2), 1972-1974	box 18
Supplement to Population Office Mailings, 1973-1974	box 18
Population Survey Mission Report, Mar 1963	box 18
Primate Research Center - International Institute for Study of Human Reproduction, 1963-1966	box 18
Science Education General, 1961-1968	box 18
Science Education General (2), 1968-1971	box 18
SEAMES, 1965-1971	box 19
SEAMES Agriculture (1), 1966-1975	box 19
Southeast Asian Studies Program, 1967-1969	box 19
Thailand, 1963-1970	box 19
Training Programs (Economic Development and Others), 1962-1969	box 19
United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) Asia, 1972	box 19
Vietnam, 1974-1975	box 19
Wagner, Lew, 1969	box 19
Wisconsin Workshop on University Administration, 1967-1971	box 19
World Education, Inc International Workshop for Program Evaluation Specialists, 1973-1974	box 19
Wyzanski, Charles Visit, Jan 25-30, 1965	box 19

Title/Description	Instances
Agratian Reform, 1963-1977	box 20
Agriculture (9), 1974-1978	box 20
Business Schools, 1972-1978	box 20
Education (6), 1977	box 20
Economic Education (2), 1971-1978	box 20
International Committee on Management of Population Programs (ICOMP) (2), 1979	box 20
Language Teaching, 1971-1977	box 21
Ford Foundation Saigon, 1973-1974	box 21

Philippine Population Review, 1972	box 21
Population and Family Planning (12), 1974-1975	box 21
Population and Family Planning (13), 1974-1978	box 21
Population and Family Planning (14), 1974-1977	box 21
Asian Association of Development Research and Training Institutes, 1973-1974	box 21
Status of Women Materials, 1973-1975	box 22
Social Science Research on Population and Development, 1974	box 22
Population Office New York, 1973-1975	box 22
Value of Children (1), 1971-1973	box 22
Value of Children (2), 1974-1975	box 22
Population and Family Planning General (7), 1971-1973	box 22
Population and Family Planning (8), 1972-1973	box 22
Population and Family Planning (9), 1973-1974	box 23
Population and Family Planning (10), 1973-1974	box 23
Population and Family Planning (11) [PHOTOS], 1974	box 23
Philippine Educational Theater Association, 1971-1974	box 23
Philippine-American Educational Foundation (2), 1970-1975	box 23
Thailand (2), 1969-1974	box 24
UST-PETA Project, 1972-1973	box 24
Folklore (2), 1972-1974	box 24
Education (4), 1969-1973	box 24
Education (5), 1972-1976	box 24
Population Program Philippines, 1972-1974	box 24
PSSC Regional Workshop Enhancing the Roles of Social Science in Southeast Asia, 1976-1977	box 25
SEASP Documents, 1976	box 25
SEASP History of Southeast Project Philippine Project Team, 1977	box 25
Mexico Conference, 1976	box 25
Foreign Training Programs in Southeast Asia, 1976	box 25
Population Policy Research in the Social Sciences (Ford Foundation/Rockefeller Foundation) (2), 1976-1980	box 25

Population Policy Research in the Social Sciences (Ford Foundation/Rockefeller Foundation) (3), 1977-1978	box 25
Japan, 1976-1977	box 25
Economic Costs of Children, 1977	box 25
Cali Conference, 1974	box 25
Ateneo de Manila University, 1965-1976	box 25
United Nations Development Programme, 1975-1976	box 26
International Committee on Management of Population Programs (ICOMP), 1973-1977	box 26
Workshop on University Administration, 1971-1977	box 26
Xavier University, 1962-1971	box 26
Value of Children Workshop, 1975-1976	box 26
ESCAP Committee on Population IPS and SB Proposals, 1975-1980	box 26
Population Commission, 1969-1975	box 27
Self-Instruction in Population, 1976	box 27
The Population Council, 1965-1975	box 27
Population Policy Research in the Social Sciences (Ford Foundation/Rockefeller Program), 1970-1975	box 27
Social Science Association of Thailand, 1975	box 27
Program Planning Philippines, 1972-1975	box 27
Program Planning and Budget Projection General, 1974-1975	box 27
Volunteer Programs, 1966-1972	box 27
Evaluation, 1968-1976	box 27
Urban Development, 1971-1974	box 27
Indonesia General (1), 1965-1975	box 27