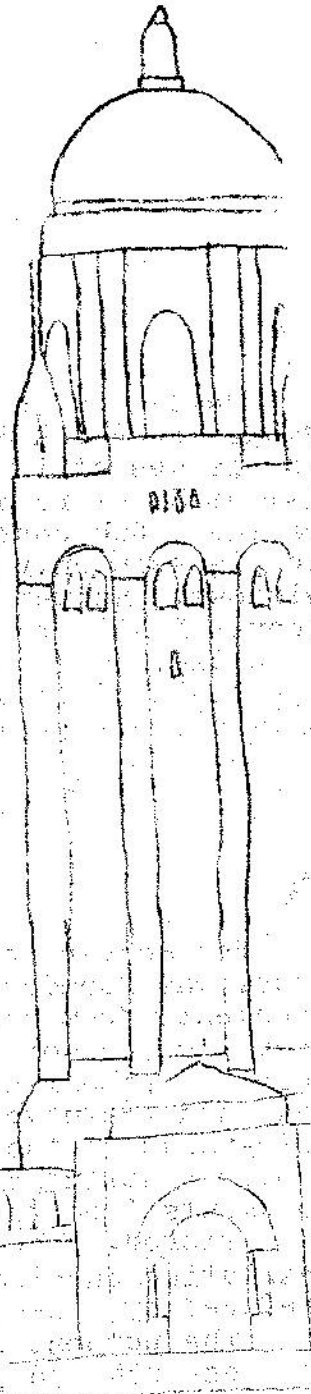


HOOVER

TOWER:

THE PRIDE AND JOY
OF THE

EMPIRE



INTRODUCTION

While most of Stanford sleeps in the springtime smog, the Black Students Union has been trying to raise the issues of institutional racism and economic imperialism at Stanford University. One of the main embodiments of these BSU charges is the Hoover Institute, which most people know only for its phallic tower and many broken windows. Hoover is much more than an architectural sore. Hoover Institution provides the theoretical justification to policy-makers for the destruction of Indochina and the apartheid of South Africa. The Hoover Institution is not only ugly, it's a monster.

HISTORY

The Hoover Institution for War, Revolution, and Peace was founded by Herbert Hoover in 1919 to collect documents from World War II. Ostensibly this was, in Hoover's own words, to "recall from its records, the voice of experience against the making of war ... to make and preserve peace and to sustain for America the safeguards of the American way of life." Until 1959, Hoover Institution remained, basically, a library where documents from the various wars America participated in were stored. Then, in 1959, the trustees passed a resolution changing the structure of the institute, prefaced by a new statement from Hoover which said:

"The purpose of this institution must be, by research and publications to demonstrate the evils of the doctrines of Karl Marx -- whether Communism, Socialism, economic materialism, or

atheism -- to protect the American way of life from such ideologies, their conspiracies and to reaffirm the validity of the American system."

Towards this end the trustees appointed Glenn Campbell, termed "a man after his (Hoover's) own heart" (Palo Alto Times, 1960), as the new director. Campbell immediately began changing the institute into "more and more a center for advanced study."

Campbell thus greatly expanded the activities of the Hoover Institute, with a corresponding increase in expenditure; by 1964-65 Campbell had increased the budget by more than three times the 1959-60 amount. This included an increase in research and publication of over sixteen times the total amount -- from 10% of the budget in 1959, to 52% in 1964 (including 9% in government contracts). Propaganda also began pouring from the institute. By 1962 Hoover was publishing over thirty books a year as opposed to almost none before 1959. Most of the expansion in 1962 was in the field of East Asian Studies (especially on the People's Republic of China). In 1964 Hoover also began publishing a great many works on Africa.

Hoover staff members also directed their energies towards politics at home. Director Campbell took a two-month leave of absence to run Barry Goldwater's advisory task force, while staff members Roger Freeman and Stefan Posseny actively participated in Goldwater's campaign while still at Hoover, Freeman chairing a committee to prepare G.O.P. proposals for the campaign. More immediately, on the Stanford campus "considerable assistance from Hoover" enabled the YAF (Young Americans for Freedom) to publish the first issue of the Arena.

Attacks on Hoover

Hoover's obvious political bias has drawn fire more than once in the past. There was an uproar when the resolution on the evils of Marxism became public, because "it predetermined its goals (Hoover's) of scholarship."

(Stanford Daily, 10/12/67) The Stanford Trustees, in keeping with their interests in seeing Hoover's right-wing propaganda continue, tried to quell the controversy by lying that the preface was only Hoover's personal opinion and not part of their resolution. In reality, the resolution rescinded the earlier statement and incorporated Hoover's preface (paragraphs 1 and 2 of the resolution). The resolution also separated the institution from any control by the University or the faculty. Paragraph 3 of the resolution made "Hoover Institution ... an independent institution within the frame of Stanford University ... without any reference to faculty committees between the President and the Trustees." (taken from the Daily) As the Wall Street Journal stated (6/2/67), "In practice, the institution is autonomous. Mr. Campbell ... runs the institution with a strong hand. He selects research fellow, hires librarians and makes spending decisions." This autocratic control has enabled Campbell to turn Hoover into the ruling-class propaganda factory that Herbert Hoover and the trustees wanted it to be.

Hoover's Independent Status

Today, as Lyman tells the BSU that a separate minority-controlled minority admissions committee would violate the "one University" Stanford policy, Hoover still remains an independent institution run solely by its right-wing director.

This independent status must further be considered in the light of the fact that Stanford supplies an increasingly large amount of support to Hoover from its General Fund. Beginning with the Trustee's pledge in the 1959 resolution of "not less than \$125,000 per annum", Stanford has increased its support to where in 1970 it appropriated over 1/2 million (\$537,607) or 26% of Hoover's total budget. While Hoover squanders this money to make rich men richer through speakers fees (\$5,000 -- the yearly salary of a BAPed Tressider work-

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er went to war-criminal Henry Cabot Lodge for one afternoon's "labor"). The University administration tells Third World students that there isn't any money available to fully develop their own study programs.

Today Hoover is probably almost twice as large as it was in 1965, its budget having reached two million dollars. In 1970, the total budget was \$1,965,406, of which eight-hundred and fifty thousand (43%) went directly to research. Under Campbell's essentially fascist rule, Hoover Institution has now grown into a major source of rabid anti-communist and racist ideology.

WHAT DOES HOOVER PRODUCE?

Between 1966 and 1969, Hoover Institution published seventy-eight books, three-fourths of which were, directly, about communism. Of its two fastest growing collections, East Asian Studies and African Studies, East Asian Studies is the largest collection with most of the research done at Hoover in this area.

Typical of these books are The Politics of the Red Chinese Army, Mao Tse-tung in Opposition, and Socialism and Private in Equatorial Asia, books based on the McCarthy era belief that there is a 'Mao-Tse-tung God' controlled communist conspiracy to conquer and oppress all the "free" countries of Asia (i.e. the U.S. capital investments in those countries).

While Hoover's collection on Africa is not as large as the East Asian Collection, there were almost as many books published since 1966, and more research projects now in progress on Africa than on Asia. Most of the topics covered are solely on Communism in Africa (Africa and the Communist World and African Socialism) or on supposed

Communist infiltration of other struggles such as the development of unions and, especially, the rise of nationalism (Emergence of Nationalism in Portuguese Africa and Trade Union Conflict: A Study of the Nigerian Coal Miner's Union). No where does Trade Union Conflict list or talk about the three hundred or so mining companies (such as Hoover Advisory Board member Kenneth Hannan's Union Carbide) that have formed a cartel from Katanga to the Cape, which among other things, supports and maintains racist regimes (notably in South Africa) and helps the governments of these countries to destroy any labor organizations in order to continue the system of near slave labor in the mines. Likewise Political Leadership in Africa attempts to discredit those black leaders who have lead victorious people's wars against their colonial oppressors and opposed the economic control of the American companies. In particular Kwame Nkrumah as an elitist tyrant trying only to gain power for himself. No where does it mention his opposition to the thousands of foreign-owned companies in Africa, listed in Nkrumah's book Neocolonialism: The Last Stage of Capitalism, nor does it mention the way those companies toppled his government with the help of the C.I.A., nor the role of American agencies (such as A.I.D.) in supporting the present Congolese dictatorship so as to guarantee a "stable" climate for American investment. The most incendiary book of all, however, is Hoover's publication Burden of Empire: An Appraisal of Western Colonialism in Africa South of the Sahara which tries to justify Western colonialism as being the only way "underdeveloped" countries could industrialize, not mentioning the billions of dollars per year stolen from Africa by the foreign investors.

Hoover's "scholars" thus distort or gloss over the reality of capitalist exploitation in Africa in particular and all Third World countries in general, in order to picture American imperialism as beneficial and desirable for all concerned. Hoover's anti-Communism is also used to stimulate war production

Communism is also used to stimulate war production here in the United States. Hoover's staff members spread "Red Terror" lies to push for more government contracts to the military-industrial complex.

Stephan Possony, well-known defender of South African apartheid and author of Geography of the Intellect (a book that claims intelligence is determined along geographical lines, with, of course, the Northern white half of the earth being superior to the Southern colored part of the earth) is, in addition to being a racist, one of the most prominent advocates for the continual expansion of the American defense establishment. He is on the Board of Directors of the American Security Council and a member of the Council's committee (consisting besides himself, of fourteen retired generals, including Curtis LeMay) that periodically goes before the House Armed Services Committee demanding the development of such things as the ABM and other advanced weapons. As Possony has said, "Failure to develop extremely high-yield nuclear weapons imperils our national security." In order to use all his brand-new weapons, Possony is, of course, in favor of counter-insurgency over all of the Third World.

HOOVER INFLUENCE IN GOVERNMENT

It is important to realize that Hoover Institution's anti-Communist polemics and imperialist books are not just academic absurdities. Rather these publications and the men who produce them are influential in every level of American government and play an essential part in determining American foreign policy, especially under the Nixon administration. Through director Glenn Campbell's strong influence in the Republican Party (having made many connections while he was working for Goldwater), several of the more conservative staffers associated with the Hoover Institution have received important government positions. Richard V. Allen, author of National Security: Political, Military AND Economic Strategies in the

tary and Economic Strategies in the Decade Ahead and 1968 Yearly Report on International Communist Affairs was appointed as an aide to Henry Kissinger and a member of the National Security Council. He has advocated the use of a highly mobile "Free World Strike Force" to counter "Communist aggression" anywhere in the Third World. These fire brigades would "bolster local resistance to Communist attack until large-scale forces could come."

David Packard, Hoover Advisory Board member and pig, was appointed Assistant Secretary of Defense. He headed a drive to raise five million dollars in endowments for the Hoover Institution.

Former Hoover staffers, Dennis J. Doolin and Yuan-Li-Wu, were both appointed to Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense posts. Doolin has been a full-time member of the C.I.A. since 1967, working through U.S.I.A. He has authored three books on Communist China for Hoover Institution. Yuan-li-wu has also authored three books on China, and Arms Control and Disarmament Policy and had a three volume work on the Peoples' Republic of China funded by S.R.T. Roger Freeman, now a White House economic advisor and wrote Socialism and Private Enterprise in Equatorial Africa.

Hoover Institution's contribution to U.S. imperialism takes another form. In the 1966 F.A.C.E. booklet on the Institution it is stated that, "The U.S. Government has also made extensive use of the Hoover Institution facilities ... Federal agencies using the collections include the Department of State, the C.I.A., the Department of Justice, the F.B.I., and the military services."

HOOVER'S RACIST HIRING PRACTICES

Back home Hoover Institute employs only two Blacks, no Chicanos, and no native Americans as staff members; both Blacks being secretaries in the African Collection and Publications section. Assistant Director in charge of administration, Alan Belmont stated that there just aren't any qualified Black researchers being "unreasonable to employ minorities regardless of ability, for mere show -- they must be able to help the institution." While a racist position in and of itself, especially considering that the University gave Hoove 1/2 million dollars last year, some of which should have been used to fulfill its obligations to minorities, Belmont's statement was shown to be an out and out lie by the fact that yes, indeed, he did employ "good intelligent students willing to work" in a training capacity. These students number from ten to fifteen, not including the guides to the top of the Tower, none of which are black.

WHO DOES HOOVER SERVE?

Who benefits most from Hoover's sophomoric anti-communist ideology and its strident defense of overseas empires? The answer is simple. The chief benefactors of Hoover Institution are the directors of American corporations who have a vested interest in hiding their economic exploitation of the Third World behind a facile anti-communist rationalization. The American ruling class is willing to pay generously for Hoover's valuable services as a public relations agency. The Scaffe Family of Pittsburgh (heirs of the Andrew Mellon fortune) donated \$1,250,000 to Hoover Institution in two separate donations, stating, "We feel that the work (of this institution) is so particularly important to the preservation of our Western civilization

that anything the Scaffa family can do to assist it is a source of pride to us." Likewise the Alan Bradley Co., which donates \$50,000 a year to this Institution is quoted in The Wall Street Journal as saying, "One of our basic policies is to support anti-communist and conservative organizations. The Institution falls right in with this policy." (1967). Other prominent friends of the Hoover Institution include: American Friends of the Middle East and the Asia Foundation, both of which are C.I.A. fronts, Standard Oil of California, Monsanto Co., Gulf Oil, the Ford Foundation, and the Kiresage Foundation (Wall Street Journal, 1967).

In addition the Hoover Institution Advisory Board, whose purpose in the words of the Hoover "Report" for 1966-1969 is "to maintain interest in the Institution, to aid in securing support to the Institution and to advise on policies of the Institution," includes such ruling class bigwigs as: Kenneth H. Hannan, executive vice president, Union Carbide Corporation; Harold H. Helm, Chairman of the Executive Committee Chemical Bank; William F. Knowland, President and Publisher, Oakland Tribune; A. Carl Kotchian, President, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation; George G. Montgomery, Chairman of the Board, Kern County Land Company; Herman J. Schmidt, Executive Vice President, Mobil Oil Corporation; Forrest N. Shumway, President, The Signal Companies; John E. Swearingen, Chairman of the Board, Standard Oil Company (Indiana); and Gardiner Symonds, Chairman of the Board, Tenneco Inc.

Most of the companies listed above have substantial overseas investments (note especially the oil companies represented) which provide the basis for America's "burden of empire".

**THE HOOVER INSTITUTION
MUST SERVE THE PEOPLE!**

The Real News, in an article entitled "The Tower of the Empire", stated that "Hoover unceasingly attempts to help form the policies that aid the maintenance of the racist decadent empire". It also gives material support to American rip-offs abroad by implementing its ideologies high inside the government. This complicity in crimes against humanity must be ended and Hoover made to serve the people it now exploits.

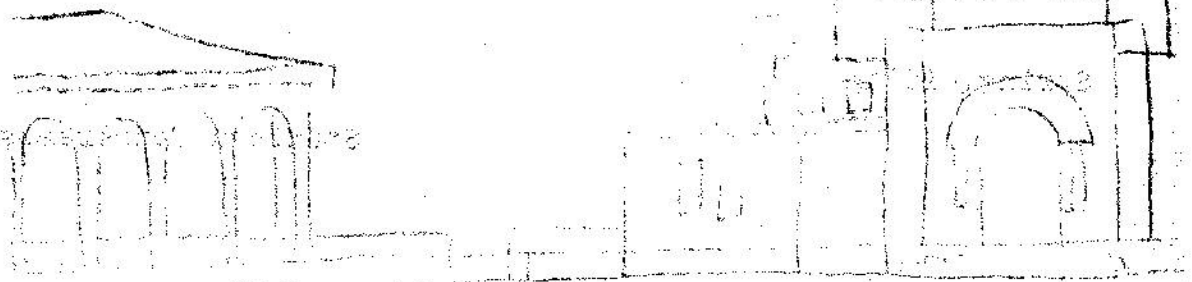
"The University has stated that if it had the resources it would authorize the badly needed expansion of Black programs. The University has also said that it would consider reordering its priorities to free some of the needed funds...At last count, 537,607 dollars of (Hoover's) budget came from general Stanford University funds... (Since) a substantial amount of that money is used to prop up racist fascist regimes, and since Hoover violates the structural principle of one university as stated by Lieman, the Black Student Union demands that the University transfer Hoover's allocation to the pool of money that will be used to meet the Union's demands." ("Tower of the Empire")

"Hoover Tower is both Stanford's finest monument and the greatest phallic symbol in the West. It is only fitting that now is the time for it to completely change or fall." ("Tower of the Empire")

Spring, 1971

Stanford Venceremos

POWER TO THE PEOPLE



ERRATA

- Page 4, paragraph 4- Third book should be titled Socialism and Private Enterprise in Equatorial Asia.
- Page 5, paragraph 1, line 18- Should be 'In particular it (Political Leadership in Africa) paints Kwame Nkrumah...'
- line 26- Should be 'present dictatorship in Ghana...'
- Omit the last line of this page ('Communism is...')
- Page 6- Omit the last line of this page (TARY AND...)
- Page 8, paragraph 1, line 8- Insert after the quote 'At the same time, Belmont said Hoover couldn't even train researchers as it "just can't afford to."'