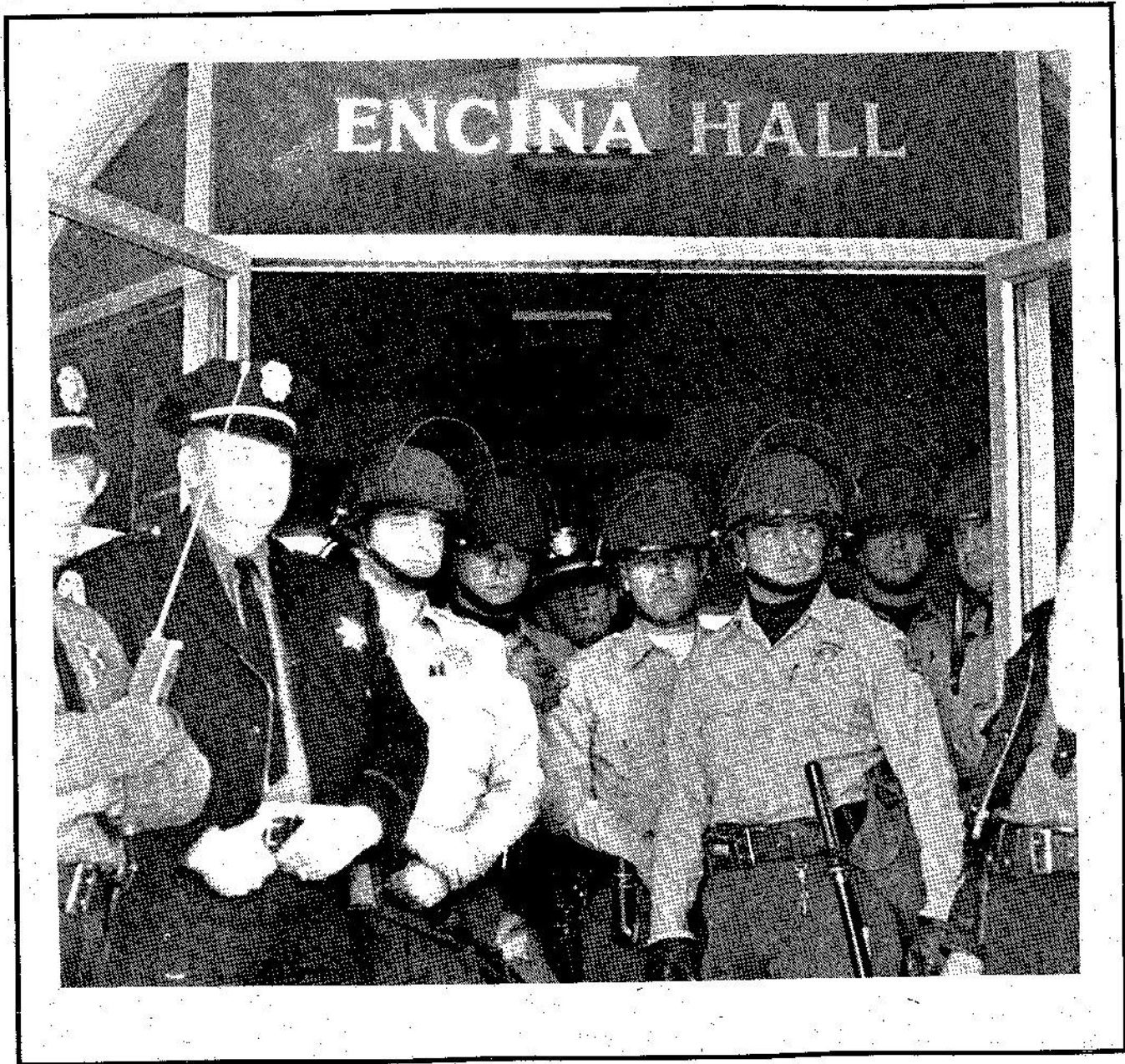


# STANFORD:



where war and business meet

## WHY FOCUS ON STANFORD?

Following his promise that "peace is at hand", Richard Nixon was overwhelmingly re-elected president. Immediately these visions of peace faded away as the Paris Peace Talks halted. Using supposed North Vietnamese refusal to sign the October peace agreement as an excuse, Nixon hit Haiphong and Hanoi with the heaviest bombing raids in the history of the Vietnam war, at the same time increasing military aid to places like Marcos' Phillipines and the Middle East. This aggression abroad is happening concurrently with increased repression at home - attempts to muzzle the press, oppressive welfare legislation, attempts to sabotage or smash revolutionary movements, indiscriminate arrests of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, increased use of Grand Juries, etc.

During a previous period of aggression, the invasion of Cambodia in 1970, students at Stanford and around the country went on strike, shutting down their schools for nearly a quarter and helping to force the withdrawal of troops.



Now, while there are massive protests against U. S. imperialism around the world, reaction in the U. S. has been relatively quiet. Why is this happening?

Many of us feel "protested out" - we've lived with the war since we were children, repression is no longer new to us and we forget the success protest movements have had in the past. We write letters to our congressmen but, convinced that none of it really touches us anyway, prefer to sit in our ivory towers at Stanford, removed from it all. We forget that, especially at Stanford, we cannot remove ourselves from the roots of U. S. imperialism and, in fact, become a party to it by not speaking out and acting against it. We forget that there are few ivory towers at Stanford.

This university directly contributes to and depends upon the growth of the American economic system. The outstanding aspect of the American economy in this century has been the expansion of business throughout the world in search of markets and resources for higher profits. From \$7.2 billion in 1946, U. S. direct private foreign investment jumped to \$65 billion by 1968.

A major consequence of this expansion has been U. S. control over the governments and economies of other countries: imperialism. This has meant war and conflict, sometimes with underdeveloped countries we seek to control, sometimes with developed nations like Japan competing with the U. S. for markets and resources. Apologists claim these wars defend the "free world". This makes sense only if we understand that "free world" means those areas where American corporations are free to pursue profit making opportunities.

Stanford itself has grown as a part of business expansion and resulting wars. The use of techniques developed at Stanford in the recent terror bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong is only the most recent and bloody example of how and why Stanford works.

## WAR RESEARCH AT STANFORD

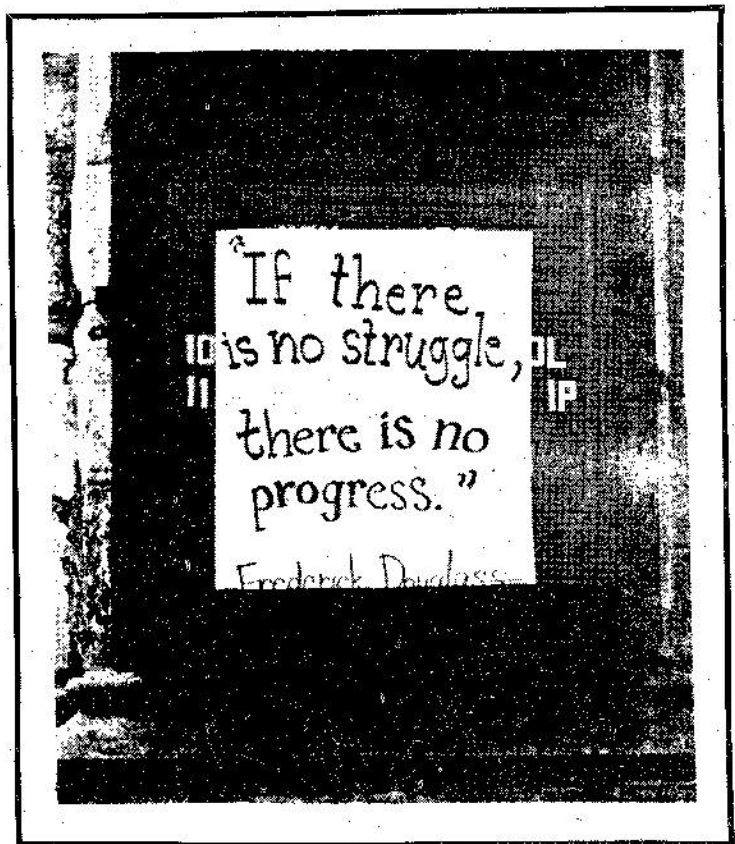
The business of the Department of Defense is seeing that the U. S. can win wars. It gives money for this reason. According to University reports, in 1972 the U. S. government paid Stanford around \$80 million in research contracts and grants. This is 40% of Stanford's total \$200 million income. Of this \$80 million, \$10 million came from the Department of Defense, \$28 million from the Atomic Energy Commission, and \$4 million from NASA.



Many techniques and products developed at Stanford are used in the war in Indochina and have been used in others. While Stanford researchers may not be researching for the same purpose as the DoD, the vital thing is the concrete military application of the research through DoD hands. The following are some examples of research recently completed or still in progress:

1. "Microwave Acoustic and Bulk Device Technique Studies," Hansen Labs under Air Force Contracts; used for electronic countermeasures, i. e. device for confusing "enemy" radar.
2. "Acoustic Surface Wave Long Delay Lines and Parametric Processors," Hansen Labs under Army contract; used for electronic countermeasures.
3. "Research Studies on Tunable Optical Parametric Oscillators," Hansen Labs under Air Force contract; used for development of optical guidance systems.
4. "Highspeed Microwave Switching for Microwave Application Thru Use of GAASPX-1 Diodes Under PULSEC Conditions," Stanford Electronic Labs under Navy contract; used for radar processing.
5. "Continuation of Studies on Dynamics and Control of Rotary VTOL Aircraft," Aero and Astro under what is listed as NASA funding but is actually an Army Aircraft Mobility Lab contract; used for improvement of military helicopter performance.

Most of this research is done at places like the Hansen Labs, Microwave Laboratory, Center for Materials Research and Stanford Electronics Laboratories. These are connected to the School of Engineering, the main funnel for DoD funds and research activity at Stanford. The Engineering School's research activities are also important for the training and socialization of graduate students. A lot of grad student aid money comes through DoD contracts and students trained on DoD contracts drift easily into military-connected work when they graduate. These graduate students are recruited at the Placement Center by the Armed Forces and the major DoD contractors. In the spring



of 1971, the student body passed a referendum banning the manufacturers of anti-personnel weapons, companies with more than \$100 million in DoD contracts and the Armed Forces from using the Placement Center. Last year, because President Lyman refused to put this ban into effect, students held a series of demonstrations, disrupting these companies' use of the Placement Center. They have pledged to continue this struggle until the administration recognizes the right of the student body to control its Placement Center.

#### STANFORD AND WAR INDUSTRY

Local industry in Palo Alto means electronics industry which has grown up with the growth of the U. S. military. The Engineering School is the main link between these industries and Stanford.

Many local industries grew directly from the Engineering School. Ambitious graduates and faculty, with the help of generous Stanford land policies, have built up industrial giants like Hewlett-Packard and Varian.

These corporations benefit from the research, training and services of the Engineering School, and they do their best to return the support. The Electronics Research



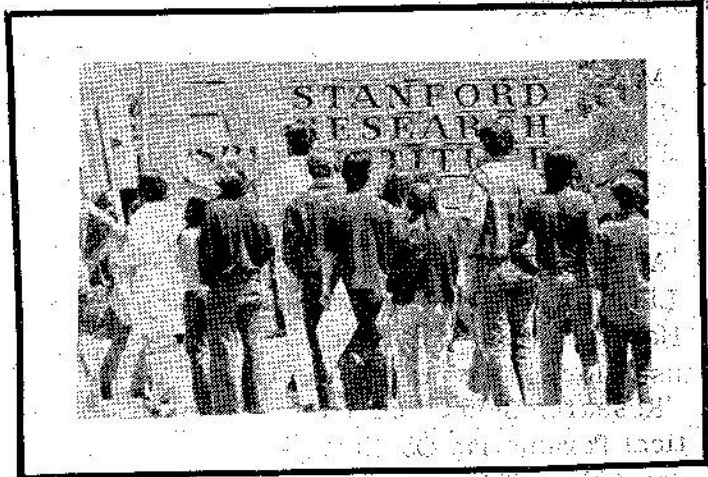
Laboratory was built through the generosity of Bill Hewlett and David Packard. The Du-rand Space Engineering Building was funded with \$992,000 from the Air Force, \$2,080,000 from NASA and \$1.4 million from private industries like Boeing, Lockheed, GE, etc. The money was raised by Roger Lewis - chairman of the Stanford Committee on Gifts and Chairman of the Board of General Dynamics.

The best evidence of the Stanford-electronics industry connection is the Stanford Industrial Park, the core of an area from Belmont to the northern tip of San Jose in which the Defense Department spends \$1 billion a year. The following are just a few of the many firms in the Industrial Park area:

1. Applied Technology: (Division of ITEC), \$9 million from DoD; makes "wild weasel", the electronic package that directs U. S. missiles at air defenses in North Vietnam; Stanford researchers founded Applied Tech to produce electronic warfare equipment they were researching in the university.
2. Hewlett Packard: \$11 million in DoD contracts; locally H-P makes components for M-514 artillery fuse and digital displays for electronic warfare; other plants make test set parts for TV guided smart bombs; 6 of H-P's 17 directors are Stanford Trustees or administrators.
3. Watkins-Johnson: \$8 million in DoD contracts; makes devices for reconnaissance, surveillance and electronic counter-measures, including parts for B-52 electronic counter-measure receiver; Dean Watkins, the founder, was a Stanford professor and later a trustee.

Important to the application of this hardware are new methods of technological warfare and counterinsurgency. The Stanford Research Institute, officially separated from Stanford in 1970 as a result of mass student protests during the April 3rd Movement, but still closely linked, is a "think tank" doing millions of dollars of DoD research in just these areas. Originally founded by men from Stanford, Lockheed and Standard Oil of California in 1946, SRI has done work on such things as elec-

tronic warfare techniques, antiballistic missile systems and, until 1969, studies for the Army's chemical and biological warfare program. One of the more notorious counterinsurgency programs developed at SRI was the Staley Plan, a "strategic hamlet" (concentration camp) program used in South Vietnam in the early 1960's.



Much of SRI's research is beneficial not only to electronic war companies, but also to the large corporations seeking continued expansion in East Asia and the Pacific. SRI sponsors an International Industrial Conference bringing together hundreds of the world's top businessmen. In August, 1967, after the Indonesian coup which ousted Sukarno and slaughtered hundreds of thousands of leftists, SRI sponsored a conference where 170 senior executives from 15 countries were told of the business opportunities in Indonesia.

#### STANFORD AND EXPANDING U. S. BUSINESS: THE BUSINESS SCHOOL

Just as the Engineering School services and is serviced by the war corporations, the Business School has close ties with the business community in general. Through its MBA program, the school trains young American executives and their foreign counterparts in the spirit of Packard's inspiring statement: "Profit is the Monetary Measurement of Our Contribution to Society." Stanford founded ESAN, a graduate business school in Peru, produces Peruvian executives who often take jobs in companies like Trustee Ernie Arbuckle's old company W. R. Grace or Utah International. Ed Middlefield, a president of Utah, served as

a Stanford Trustee and Chairman of the Business School Advisory Council.

This Advisory Council includes 37 top executives and is the main link between the school and the needs of expanding west coast business. The corporations contribute their share to the School: in 1968-69, 180 companies linked to the school through an affiliate program gave \$300,000 in unrestricted funds.

## THE TRUSTEES

Another Stanford - business link is the trustees. The following are just a few examples:

1. Ernest C. Arbuckle: Chairman of the Board, Wells Fargo Bank, Director Castle & Cook, Hewlett Packard, Owens Illinois, Safeway, Utah International and Stanford Research Institute; member of S. F. Chamber of Commerce, S. F. Bay Area Council, Advisory Committee on Private Enterprise in Foreign Aid (1964-65), DoD Industrial Advisory Council, President's Commission on International Trade and Investment (1970-71).
2. William D. Eberle: Director Atlantic Insurance Group, Hewlett-Packard, Pittsburg Plate Glass, U. S. Natural Resources; member of Council on Foreign Relations, National Industrial Conference Board; Director of Federal Reserve Bank of NY and currently Nixon's Special Ambassador for Trade Negotiations.
3. Thomas V. Jones: President and Chairman of Northrop Corp., Director U. S. Steel, Times-Mirror Co., Wells Fargo Bank, SRI; member DoD Industrial Advisory Council and Board of Visitors of Air Force Systems Command.

## STANFORD'S INVESTMENT PORTFOLIO

The university has over \$200 million invested in big corporations. There has been considerable controversy over Stanford's investment policies. In 1971, the Black Students Union demanded that the university sell its stock in companies, such as Gulf Oil and General Motors, which do

business with the white supremacist regimes in southern Africa. The following are just a few of the corporations in which Stanford has more than \$1 million invested, along with the approximate value of their DoD contracts (as of 1970) and a partial list of countries where they operate:

1. Atlantic Richfield: \$49 million; Indonesia, Iran, Venezuela.
2. American Express: South Vietnam, U. S. Military Bases.
3. Caterpillar Tractor: \$40 million; Hong Kong, Thailand, South Africa.
4. Goodyear: \$103 million; Indonesia, Malaysia, Phillipines, Thailand.

## STANFORD AND PEOPLE'S WELFARE

Since its beginning, Stanford and the industries that grew out of it have done less than nothing for the majority of people in Northern California. Leland Stanford's railroad fortune was made on stolen lands of Aztlán, using Chinese slave labor, with U. S. government subsidies. As the area's farms have been turned into defense industries, Third



STANFORD HOSPITAL WORKERS



World people and women have been used as a cheap labor force. Today 2/3 of the people in Santa Clara County make less than \$10,000 per year while 20% bring home less than \$5,000. And while Third World people make up a significant proportion of the area's workforce, if you drive around Palo Alto, you'll find few blacks or Chicanos. They've been zoned and "developed" out of decent housing and transportation near their workplace. In 1960, 33% of Palo-Alto - Stanford employees lived in the area. By 1968, only 22% could afford to live here. And yet, rather than using its land and power to build low-income housing, Stanford builds Dillingham Plaza (Palo Alto Square), high-income apartment complexes like the Oak Creek apartments, and is trying to destroy a large amount of low and middle-income housing that still exists by still pushing for the Willow Expressway.

Stanford also reflects this attitude in its hiring and admittance policies. Third World people and women are relegated to the lowest-paid, least satisfying jobs with little hope for promotion (Despite high-sounding guidelines, most supervisors and administrators are still brought in from the outside, often from the retired ranks of military men.). While militant labor struggles like the 1971 Hospital Strike, consistent pressure from groups like United Stanford Employees and affirmative action guidelines that threaten federal fund cut-offs have forced some improvements at Stanford, most change has been simply window dressing.

This is also true in admitting policies. Because of pressure from those who somehow slipped in and nominal federal pressure, Stanford has been accepting more Third World people and women as students. But at the same time that tuition and living costs are rising by leaps and bounds, financial aid is getting harder to come by. And, with Business and Engineering still the main foci of Stanford education, programs and professors that try to relate to people in American society are constantly threatened with removal from the university. Most classes are beneficial only to the future rulers of America.

## STANFORD AND THE AMERICAN RULING CLASS

Where Stanford is concerned, there are no more public-private separations, only lines between those who own and control industry and those who don't. How else could former Trustee Packard head a company which does over \$10 million a year in DoD contracts and also act as Under Secretary of Defense? How else could Trustee Arbuckle be a chairman of SRI which does counterinsurgency work for the DoD in Thailand and also be a director of Castle & Cook, whose Dole subsidiary plants pineapples in Thailand because Hawaiian labor is too expensive?

This university functions primarily to serve expanding American business, the interests of those who own and control the means of production, the interests of those in the ruling class. Stanford trains their managers, researches their investment opportunities and develops weapons for their wars.

### WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

For those of us who think that the function of a university should be to provide the means of helping people rather than destroying them, who cringe at the thought of war research going on under our noses, who think that students should have control over their study and workers should have control over their jobs, the only alternative is to work against what Stanford is now. We have won some victories in the past - SRI is no longer a part of Stanford, ROTC is no longer an accepted part of campus life, Classified Research has at least gone underground, the Computer Center can no longer be used (as it once was) to perfect schemes for invading North Vietnam. These victories, while only partial, are all a result of militant student protest movements. Acting together, we can stop Stanford's participation in the war and start its transformation into an institution that truly serves the community.



STANFORD VENCEREMOS