

## 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. Hoower is much more than an architectural sore. Hoover Institution provides the theoretical justification to policy-makers for the distruction 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 chaning the structure of the institute, prefaced by a new statement from Hoover which said:

"The purpose of this institutions 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 Possony 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 (Yeung 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, 19/12/67) The Stanford Trustees, in keeping with their interests in seeing Hoover's rightwing 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.

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## 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-