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1	report	First page of report from Eric Biddle, Jr. (Sanitized page inserted in place of original)	12/04/68	B
2	report	Copy of the above document	12/04/68	B
3	report	Inspection report by Eric Biddle, Jr. of Valley Migrant League, Woodburn, Oregon	02/03/67	D
4	report	Inspection report by Eric Biddle, Jr. of Central Area Motivation Program, Seattle, Washington	04/09/67	D

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MEMORANDUM

TO: The New Administration

December 4, 1968

FROM: Eric H. Biddle, Jr.

SUBJECT: America's Number One Problem

The purpose of this paper is to briefly describe the American racial crisis as it is and as it is likely to develop if we persist in the present policy of drift and passivity. I shall then discuss the only sort of approaches offering us any hope of dealing with this, our most pressing national problem.

As an OEO Inspector of poverty programs in various parts of the country, I have, during the past three years, observed with equal dismay the rapidly developing social revolutionary spirit in the younger Negro community and the pallid, passive measures urged on the larger community as the only "solutions" by white liberals and Negro moderates. These two groups, incidentally, talk as if only the white community has the solution to the racial problem, as if Negroes were only the passive witnesses to the riots and crime that emanate from their own communities. This attitude is best exemplified by David Ginsburg, Executive Director of the Riot Commission, whose own massive effort spent almost no time trying to discover which individuals actually started and spread riots, but, instead, emphasized Negro justifications for the riots. When the Washington Post recently put out a book on last April's riot here, Ginsburg's review praised it but condemned the chapter describing the interview of an enterprising young Negro reporter with three of the black nationalist instigators of the riot. Apparently, Ginsburg believes that discovery of the identities, methods and reasoning of the actual perpetrators of a riot are the last thing a riot commission report should delve into. Clarification of this lapse was provided us at OEO by Ginsburg's Deputy on the Commission, when he told us, "Confidentially, we decided at the beginning that our report should serve the purposes of convincing Americans that white racism was responsible for the riots and should lay out a program for solving the root causes."

So it would appear, from the beginning, that there was to be little effort to look into the more immediate causes. The upshot is the recommendation by the Riot Commission that white America can prevent future riots only by spending billions of dollars in conscience money in order to provide instant integration and assistance to the residents of the rapidly growing urban ghettos. As for the rioters themselves, the Commission recommends a permissive approach. To top it all off, the Commission virtually ignores the growing number of black revolutionaries who are recruiting Negro youth into careers as urban guerillas.

Now, while I think each of these attitudes - funding of programs under threats of violence, permissiveness toward rioters, and ignoring subversives - may at times be socially useful, taken together at this time in our history they are proving disastrous. And they become more disastrous each day, because each day black revolutionaries become more and more influential among Negro youth and more outspokenly full of hate of America.

Since these men are much more capable of analyzing white America than white Americans are of analyzing them, they turn every conciliatory move made after a riot to their own purposes, namely the recruiting of young Negroes as urban guerillas.

For three years Federal Poverty Program Inspectors have been hearing West Coast Negroes complain that "we don't get enough money here because we didn't burn the town down. They did burn Watts and look at all the programs they got!"

Last year, while inspecting the poverty program in the San Bernadino area, a black militant showed me several burned out houses, the handiwork, he said, of a local, unofficial "Community Action" agency called "Better Urban Renewal Now (BURN)." The group's goal is to burn houses owned by white landlords and rented to Negroes whose rents are decreed too high by "BURN." When Riot Commission-type liberals pass off this sort of behavior as "the cries of suffering frustrated people," they commit a libel against the mass of peaceful, law abiding Negroes, because what they are heard to say is that "this sort of behavior by Negroes is justifiable and therefore to be expected." The logical extension of this sort of thinking was described by Los Angeles District Attorney, Evelle Younger, in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, October 25, 1967:

For example, I recently heard a self-proclaimed civil rights leader in my community say that unless a certain number of jobs were created immediately and given to persons without regard to skill or qualifications, that there would certainly be another Watts. When I accused him of inviting trouble, he was highly incensed and claimed he was just reporting the "facts." It has become standard operating procedure for a city, state or federal legislator or administrator who wants to dip into the pork barrel and get millions of dollars poured in to his district under some poorly planned and potentially useless project, to urge passage on the basis that it is essential to prevent a riot..

Unfortunately, there has been too much of this sort of funding in the poverty program, and the results have only started to come to public attention in such notorious examples as the Summer N Y.C. program in New York, the Woodlawn Organization in Chicago, the Pacoima Street Scene Project in Los Angeles, and several programs in San Francisco that have hired notorious Black Panthers.

Can you imagine the howl from the liberal press if the Federal Government were found to be funding gun-toting members of the Klu Klux Klan who were advocating shooting Negroes? Yet Federal dollars have gone to pay Black Panther Isaiah Rowley to run the Jersey City Anti-Recidivism project. Right here in Washington, Federal dollars are paying the salary of Jimmy Garrett, Assistant Professor of "Creative Writing" at the Federal City College. Yet in 1967, while benefiting from the OEO-funded Upward Bound program at San Francisco State College, Jimmy Garrett, a violent black racist, started the work to move that unfortunate institution down the road to disintegration that his fellow, gun-toting Black Panther, "Assistant Professor" of Black Studies, George Murray, has successfully continued this year. Before becoming a "professor" at San Francisco State, George Murray, along with two other charter member Black Panthers, was paid OEO money to run a summer program designed to pacify and uplift the San Francisco area's worst Negro ghetto.

Another black racist and announced enemy of the "pig police" is Bill Watson, who has been appointed head of police training at the Federally funded Washington Training Institute. Since the purpose of this program is to train and motivate young ghetto dwellers to become professional police officers, one might well ask why a "cop-hater" was hired to run the program.

Perhaps because it is so unprecedented in our country, many Americans refuse to believe that there are a growing number of black racist revolutionaries who are determined to destroy this country, who are unappeasable, and who are telling Negroes that they had "better get guns because Whitey is planning genocide." The perfect example of this liberal blindness was David Ginsburg's attack on the remarkable reportorial job done by the unnamed Negro reporter on the Washington riot. Ginsburg questions the report's accuracy on the grounds that the informants' names are not given. Does he really expect felons to identify both themselves and their crimes so they can be prosecuted?

Another first rate reportorial job was done by Robert Maynard and a team of reporters in the September 24, 1967 "Outlook" section of the Washington Post. After detailed surveys in five large cities, the team concluded:

An angry and violent mood is nearing the explosive point in the black community of America's largest cities, with rapidly growing black nationalist movements as a powerful catalyst...

Black America has not yet become a revolutionary cauldron, but the voices of the revolutionaries among the nationalists are becoming dominant. They are listened to when others are ignored or scorned.

The black nationalists seem to be getting through to ghetto youth, where all other organizations and programs fail.

What looms on the horizon is more carefully planned insurrections, sustained and skilled internal warfare.

Perhaps the best insight into the thinking of these black revolutionaries was provided by Sol Stern, in an article - America's Black Guerillas - in the September, 1967 issue of Ramparts, hardly an unsympathetic publication from their point of view !

Still, much nonsense was written by way of explanation of the insurrections; a new, crude version of economic determinism takes the place of vaguer expressions of "heat" and "frustration". Negroes riot, the press and the urban sociologists now almost unanimously agree, because they lack housing, education and jobs. Thus, a new riot prevention mystique grows, abetted even by "moderate civil rights leaders", which suggests that a little more poverty money spent, a police review board, better schools, an extra swimming pool, will have a direct effect on the propensity to loot and snipe in the ghetto. It is a dangerous liberal myth not because it is not well-intentioned, but because it is already outdated and ignores the real, new factor in the Black Revolution - the black urban guerilla.

The black urban guerilla will not come down off of his sniper's perch or stop making molotov cocktails because of a little more welfare money in the ghetto since he has probably already rejected a job with the Poverty Program - or perhaps he has had a job with the Poverty Program by day and still wants to burn down City Hall by night. His hatred of the system will not be affected by a better school in the ghetto, since he has probably been through the best schools and rejected their values. He takes part in insurrections in Detroit and Newark, not because of a sudden incident that sets off a smoldering frustration, but because he has long-range plans to disrupt and wreak havoc on the system that he feels produced the ghetto in this country and oppression all over the world -- even if those plans mean the loss of his life. He is like Samson among the Philistines, bound and alone among many, but hopefully strong enough to pull the whole house down.

The fact that there is a growing number of black revolutionaries would not matter so much if they were not able to operate in the fertile field of urban ghettos and against a backdrop of white ignorance and permissiveness.

Just how dangerous these black racists can be is shown by the Los Angeles Riot Study, an exhaustive post-Watts effort:

Perhaps as important as the proportion of persons involved in the riot is the extent to which residents of the community gave approval to it. 1) about 34% of the sample were somewhat favorable, or very favorable about what took place. 2) While the majority expressed disapproval of the violence and destruction, this was often coupled with an expression of empathy with the motives of those who participated, or a sense of pride in the Negro who has brought worldwide recognition to their problems.

Another important measure of attitude is the assessment of the residents of the community of the consequences of the riot for the Negro cause and for relations with white persons. Considerable optimism was shown over the results of the riot. Thirty-eight % of the population in the curfew area felt that the riot would help the Negro cause. Only about 20% felt that it would hurt the cause. Our study of the white population in the Los Angeles area was in sharp contrast. 74% believed it would hurt the cause of the Negro...

There are several key issues emerging out of these findings which warrant further exploration. The Negro community was ambivalent itself toward the riot, but a majority saw it as bringing positive results. The riot was viewed as a way of bringing their plight to the attention of the white community, with the assumption that if the whites knew the real conditions they would act rationally and in good American tradition take the appropriate steps to reform the situation. For the Negro the riot might help to hasten the creation of jobs and general improvement of the neighborhood and its institutions dealing with education, welfare, social control, health, recreation, housing, transportation and consumer malpractices. We must ask ourselves honestly whether or not this happened.

The Washington Post account of last April's riot allows these black revolutionaries (from the context they appear to be Black Panthers) to describe how they managed to develop sporadic looting and burning into a massive carnival of destruction. What they did (and say they continue to do) was to radicalize that large portion of the Negro community (34% in the Los Angeles Riot Study) likely to be favorable to a riot when they think they will not suffer from it.

How can we deal with this forbidding situation? Anyone who says he has the answer is an obvious charlatan. Chapter 16 of the Riot Commission Report, entitled "The Future of the Cities," presents a grim picture. It estimates that while the Negro population will continue to grow at a faster rate than the white population and that almost all of that increase will occur in the central cities (raising the Negro population there from 20.6 % to more than 31% by 1985):

The Negro age group from 15 to 25 years of age, however, will grow much faster than either the Negro population as a whole, or the white population in the same age group.

The report concludes:

This rapid increase in the young Negro population has important implications for the country. This group has the highest unemployment rate in the nation, commits a relatively high proportion of all crimes, and plays the most significant role in civil disorders.

This grim outlook is not likely to be basically altered by any government actions. But we must try to do better than our present policy of drift and weakness which has so obviously failed. The Federal Government can take positive steps in three directions to help us more effectively deal with this problem.

1. Human Development Programs: These are efforts that have been undertaken under the Poverty Program, dealing with education and job training. Some of these programs, such as Head Start, have been a great success and should continue at an expanded level. Others, such as the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps, often dealing with bottom-of-the-barrel people, need revamping but are worth retaining in some form, lest we abandon all attempts to salvage the people concerned. Other programs, such as Community Action, Upward Bound, and Vista, have either been blatantly and partisanly political or have funded black and white radicals and inflicted neurotic adolescent agitators on unsuspecting communities, so that they should be completely overhauled or abandoned as hopelessly botched jobs.

The only way to decide whether programs should be continued, or overhauled, or abandoned is to have them surveyed by small groups of evaluators not themselves connected with the funding or administration of the programs.

Incidentally, there is a lot of evaluative material in government files on existing programs which will, of course, be available to the new Administration.

Noises are already being heard in interested government agencies that "the poor" or "the Negroes" etc., "will raise hell" if this or that program is terminated. With the possible exception of Head Start, with its broad national constituency, this is nonsense, fabricated and spread by nervous job holders.

2. The Establishment and Maintenance of Public Order: There is a library's worth of advice on this subject already in print, particularly in the Crime Commission studies and Riot Commission Report. I will simply stress the absolute necessity of guaranteeing all of our citizens, including residents of the worst ghettos, "equal protection of the law."

Over and over I have heard ghetto residents complain, not about police brutality, but about lack of police protection. It is the young militants who scream about "police brutality," and the Black Panthers have started conducting guerilla warfare against the police in San Francisco, Cleveland, and New York. So we must decide: Are we to heed the pleas of the peaceful Negro majority for protection, and thus invite the wrath and gunfire of the militants? Or, are we going to surrender to the threats of the small, but growing numbers of black militants, thus turning control of our central cities over to them and inviting them to radicalize the Negro masses who would be at their disposal?

3. Political Warfare Against Black Racist Revolutionaries: This brings us to the third and most sensitive and as yet unexplored area of government action to deal with our racial crisis. Speaking bluntly, I believe the next Administration, as a vital part of its overall strategy, must decide that these black racist revolutionaries are at least as great a threat to our national security as Soviet nuclear weapons. As a starter in the third area of Government action to deal with this threat, I suggest that the following be undertaken:

- A. Clear black racist revolutionaries and their Old and New Left allies out of the programs funded by the Federal Government. Conduct appropriate security clearance to assure that all people given positions in Federally funded programs are, first of all, loyal to this country.
- B. Bring all information on the activities of black revolutionaries into one, small, secret staff in the Executive Office of the President, or if

necessary to protect its security, locate the staff in the Department of Defense but under the direct control of the President or Vice President.

- C. Through well camouflaged channels, give financial and non-partisan political support to Negroes who are loyal to this country and willing to oppose black racist revolutionaries.
- D. Take whatever steps are necessary - arrest, harassment, exile or appropriate clandestine political measures - to reduce the power of black racist revolutionaries in the Negro community.

I can hear the cries of outraged civil libertarians (with whom I have often agreed) at these suggestions. I simply reply that if we do not take rather defensive steps against these destroyers now, in a very few years time we will have moved farther down the road to an authoritarian state than any liberal today conceives.

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Over and over I have heard ghetto residents complain, not about police brutality, but about lack of police protection. It is the young militants who scream about "police brutality," and the Black Panthers have started conducting guerilla warfare against the police in San Francisco, Cleveland, and New York. So we must decide: Are we to heed the pleas of the peaceful Negro majority for protection, and thus invite the wrath and gunfire of the militants? Or, are we going to surrender to the threats of the small, but growing numbers of black militants, thus turning control of our central cities over to them and inviting them to radicalize the Negro masses who would be at their disposal?

3. Political Warfare Against Black Racist Revolutionaries: This brings us to the third and most sensitive and as yet unexplored area of government action to deal with our racial crisis. Speaking bluntly, I believe the next Administration, as a vital part of its overall strategy, must decide that these black racist revolutionaries are at least as great a threat to our national security as Soviet nuclear weapons. As a starter in the third area of Government action to deal with this threat, I suggest that the following be undertaken:

- A. Clear black racist revolutionaries and their Old and New Left allies out of the programs funded by the Federal Government. Conduct appropriate security clearance to assure that all people given positions in Federally funded programs are, first of all, loyal to this country.
- B. Bring all information on the activities of black revolutionaries into one, small, secret staff in the Executive Office of the President, or if

necessary to protect its security, locate the staff in the Department of Defense but under the direct control of the President or Vice President.

- C. Through well camouflaged channels, give financial and non-partisan political support to Negroes who are loyal to this country and willing to oppose black racist revolutionaries.
- D. Take whatever steps are necessary - arrest, harassment, exile or appropriate clandestine political measures - to reduce the power of black racist revolutionaries in the Negro community.

I can hear the cries of outraged civil libertarians (with whom I have often agreed) at these suggestions. I simply reply that if we do not take rather defensive steps against these destroyers now, in a very few years time we will have moved farther down the road to an authoritarian state than any liberal today conceives.

America's Racial Crisis

I am frankly afraid that we are headed into a series of worsening racial confrontations in this country that, if allowed to develop, could, at the worse possible extreme, lead to racial war, with all the destruction that implies. As an American who loves his country, I do not want to see this happen, but at this point I am pessimistic about our chances of avoiding such a holocaust, because I think we lack the understanding, courage, and determination to take the only two lines of action that could make us a united country.

Let me make my own position clear. I am a white Northern liberal, who, from the time I gave my first speech as a 16 year old in ~~high~~ school, has always considered justice for the Negro our first national priority. I felt so strongly on the subject that I picketed Senator Goldwater with CORE at the 1964 San Francisco convention, and a year later, while studying religion in New York, I went to Bogalusa and lived a week in the Negro community to witness my support during the worst part of the Klan repression. After that, I looked for a civil rights-related job in Washington. In November 1965, I came to work as an Inspector for OEO, Sargent Shriver's command post for the poverty program. Since this job has involved inspections of different sorts of poverty programs all over the country, I have had an unprecedented opportunity to observe the changing pattern of race relations. Here is why I am alarmed by what I see:

1. The Negro migration from the rural South to Northern cities and the white migration from cities to suburbs means that most of our large cities will soon have Negro majorities.
2. The combination of rapidly rising Negro expectations and the much lower, but real rate of Negro advance leads to inevitable frustration.
3. Black Power demagogues are playing on this frustration to sow racial revolutionary propaganda among youth. This is spreading like wildfire among the undisciplined, displaced children described by Daniel Moynihan.

4. Black Power has two meanings. Black Power advocates tell white people that it means votes, jobs, and pride, but the more extreme of them preach another brand to Negro youth. This second brand of Black Power consists of race pride built on hatred of whites and justifies all forms of violence against the white community. The attitudes being developed by such Black Power advocates among Negro youth are exemplified by Franz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth, which is being taught all over the country, often by well educated, well dressed, moderate looking black racists, in classes which are closed to whites and which go under the heading of "Black Arts," "Black History," "African Culture," etc. Fanon, a Martiniquan Communist psychiatrist who fought with the Algerians against the French, argues that a colonized people (Negroes) can only regain its selfhood and manhood by engaging in mass bloodletting of the colonial oppressors (white people).

5. Every time a program is funded or a concession made by Federal, state, or local government in response to threats of racial violence these Black Power advocates strengthen their hold on Negro youth at the expense of Negro moderates, whose position has steadily deteriorated ever since the Federal Government poured millions of dollars into Watts in obvious response to the 1965 riot. Ever since then, black extremists have been able to sneer at moderate Negroes because "with their moderation they only got seats at lunch counters, while Black Power violence has scared millions of dollars out of Whitey." Nothing succeeds like success!

What is the lesson of all this? The lesson, it seems to me, comes in two parts, one appealing to liberals, the other to conservatives. My pessimism about the future springs from the fact that few people at all, and almost none in public life, seem to understand the necessity of moving in two directions at once if we are to have any hope of solving this national crisis.

CIVIL RIGHTS-

The first of these directions is obviously the positive programs of education, job training and placement, legal aid, etc. that we have already initiated under the poverty and related programs. These programs, which must certainly be increased, are based on the belief that the richest nation in world history can afford to solve its ~~poverty~~ ^{MAJOR} problems. An important corollary is the conviction that Negroes have a particular call on our conscience because of the history of slavery and discrimination we have visited upon them. If the affluent majority of Americans do not recognize that expanded programs enabling the poor to develop their potentialities are a prime national necessity and duty, we cannot hope to solve the racial crisis. Liberals already accept this; conservatives will have to learn to.

The second direction we must move in at the same time is far more difficult for liberals to accept. We must all recognize that there is a growing number of militant black racists who are doing their best to recruit young Negroes into lives of sedition. Most of these black racists are not Communists or New Leftists, though there are growing signs of cooperation among the three groups. Nor do we know how much cooperation there is among black racists in different parts of the country. But we would be foolish to assume such cooperation will not grow or that it will be publicly announced when it does. We do know that black racists in various cities have mapped out power plants, water and sewage lines, factories, etc., and stated that "the fire the next time will not be in the ghetto."

I firmly believe that if we do not see these black racists as the subversive threat they are, we shall reap the whirlwind of local black revolutions, which will inevitably lead to white repression. To prevent this we must take whatever steps are necessary - intensive intelligence gathering, a tighter definition of subversion, a work or prison alternative for agitators - to separate these black racists from the mass of Negro youth. Although this line of reasoning is difficult for liberals to accept, it is much more clearly

understood by Negro moderates, who, however, are afraid to express their views in public. But liberals will have to join conservatives in this line of action, just as conservatives will have to join liberals in the other, if our country is to survive. To do otherwise is to play the role of a parent who lets his twelve year old child take daily doses of LSD because he does not want to repress the child's self expression.

mbp
Eric H. Biddle, Jr.
Washington, D. C.
November 7, 1967

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

April 24, 1967

Dear Mr. Biddle:

I have just finished reading your inspection report on the Valley Migrant League in Oregon. I found your comments on the attitude of the VML toward both the migrants and the VISTAs very helpful in understanding the situation there.

I am most grateful for your efforts on behalf of VISTA. Your report will be of great assistance to us.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "William H. Crook", written over the word "Sincerely,".

William H. Crook
Director, VISTA

Mr. Eric Biddle
Office of Inspection
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D.C.

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Eric Biddle

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Ed May

DATE: April 24, 1967

FROM : Bob Levine *Bob*

SUBJECT: Inspection Reports on VISTA

We are impressed with the reports on VISTA projects that your inspectors have done. They are perceptive, comprehensive and provide, for the first time, an objective appraisal of VISTA's impact on the poor. They are a major contribution to the evaluation of the VISTA program. Your inspectors are to be congratulated.

cc:

Sargent Shriver
William Crook

*I agree —
congratulations and thanks —
[Signature]
4/25*



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