Chairman Perkins. Right at this point, remain in your seat. We are going to recess for 10 minutes. We will be right back and then you can respond.

Chairman Perkins. The committee will come to order.

Dr. Flemming, if you don't mind, I will ask you to refrain from answering the question of Mr. Gibbons, who will be absent for about

15 minutes for a radio program, and then he will be back.

Mr. Hawkins. I have a question relating to the involvement of the poor in the programs and funding of projects submitted by the poor or by neighborhood groups. I think Mr. Gibbons correctly indicated there is nothing in the law that prohibits this, and certainly from my observation, Congress has intended this. The counties throughout the country that are organized in the national organization and the cities that are also organized nationally for educational assistance, have brought a great amount of pressure through these national organizations on the administration, and on the Office of Economic Opportunity, and on Congressmen and so forth, to the extent that it appears to me the present atmosphere is to cut back on the programs that may involve the poor.

There is a strong indication that this is an endorsement of social revolution, and if you involve the poor and give them the latitude that you have suggested should be done, and the flexibility, that the poor will involve themselves in such activities as rent strikes, consumer education, and so forth. There is a strong temptation to limit the program and to really destroy the program because of the very things you are suggesting should be done and the concepts you suggest should be

strengthened.

I don't know what is the answer. How do we get ourselves out of the position on the one hand where we say we want to involve the poor, and the act does state that in very beautiful language, and yet every organized group, the public agencies as well as the feeling of public officials here in Congress, is that they don't want to see persons who are not, and I hate to use the word establishment, that is not really what I am saying, but public agencies organized as great national organizations.

We have had applications submitted from my own area which I thought were good applications, and they were submitted not by the school system or the county, but by the time these agencies got any information on it and the mayor of the city of Los Angeles, who is a good democrat, at least a democrat, calls up the President and puts pressure on the White House and the Office of Economic Opportunity, the next thing we know, the money is withdrawn or the money is not given.

So I quite agree with your statement, and I am not disagreeing with you, but it seems to me we are somehow expressing these wonderful concepts but leaving the people here in these expressions at the mercy of the very groups that perhaps need it if we are going to get the votes to put the program through. I don't know what can be done

about it.

I certainly commend your presentation and the National Council of Churches for taking what I think is a most excellent position, but I wonder how we rescue those who take this position and what do we do about this practical situation in which we find ourselves?