Chairman Perkins. Mr. Hawkins, your time has expired. Mr. Esch? Mr. Esch. I hope the individuals representing the city government of Newark will have time later in the testimony to refute any adverse comments about their city.

I think that we ought to preface this by placing this particular hearing in the context of the total hearings of this committee and the

war on poverty.

As such, it is my understanding that OEO was developed to stimulate social change, that is, to give the poverty stricken an opportunity that they would not otherwise have. I would like to ask the witnesses— Have the OEO programs offered and said they have made promises to the poverty stricken that they could not fulfill?

Mr. Bernstein. Basically speaking, I don't think that the programs have gotten down to the grassroots poor.

Mr. Esch. This is my concern—the individual human beings involved in Newark. There has been suggestions made that the individuals have not been helped but have been offered promises until unrest arises. You are suggesting that the OEO has been used to attempt to change political structures in a given city environment?

Mr. Addonizio. If I may, I would like to throw a statistic at you.

Mr. Esch. Would you just answer the question, please?

Mr. Addonizio. In the last 5 years the Federal Government has pumped \$45 million in various antipoverty programs into the city of Newark.

Those of us who work with the grassroots of all nationalities realize what their problems are more than some who may not be involved.

Mr. Esch. You are suggesting, however, that the present OEO individuals or certain individuals in the OEO programs have been trying to change the political structure of Newark; is that correct?

Mr. Addonizio. There is just no question about that.

Mr. Esch. You are suggesting also that because they have not been effective through normal political structures they have become more militant in their activity?

Mr. Addonizio. Some of them have but not all.

Mr. Esch. What we are attempting to determine is whether or not some individuals have become more militant in their attempt to change the structure.

You are suggesting the present structure is adequate to meet all of the needs of the citizens of Newark?

Mr. Addonizio. Which structure?

Mr. Esch. The present council and the present school board.

Mr. Addonizio. There is no question about it—since they were elected by the majority of the people.

Mr. Esch. You accept the right of lawful protest? Mr. Addonizio. There is no question about that at all.

I should also mention and I am put in the position to possibly reiterate some of the statements of our mayor—he has done more for civil rights, he has given more of his time to try to solve problems with all ethnic groups than any other mayor in the city of Newark and he brings to that higher office as mayor a background of having served in the Congress of the United States for 14 years and I can assure you that the very day the riots occurred he was talking to so-called civil rights groups to try to help adjust it.