

in poor neighborhoods if those who are totally unaware of what a lawyer is and what he can do are to be helped.

Mobilization for Youth in New York's Lower East Side has distributed wallet-size cards in Spanish which describe the rights of one accused of crime and how to reach a lawyer when one is needed.

Handouts on one page have been distributed also, describing the rights of welfare recipients and persons buying goods on installment plans. These kinds of imaginative ways of communication offer a genuine challenge to the lawyer who is anxious that his services be relevant to more than a comfortable suburban clientele.

All of these activities of the lawyer in the antipoverty program, however are in areas more or less associated with the present role of the lawyer as a private advocate and counsel.

Indeed, a new concept of the legal profession may be needed. The greatest contributions which the lawyer can make may well be in areas where he can play a role only if he takes an interest as a citizen, and not primarily as a lawyer. I am thinking of activities such as representing a neighborhood association of the poor in negotiations with the city administration which is unwilling to live up to the spirit of the Economic Opportunity Act and has refused to share real policy-making power with the spokesman of the poor.

I am thinking of the role which lawyers have played in the civil rights movement—as individuals deeply committed to social justice and possessing special skills of major relevance to the fight against discrimination—but as citizens, not lawyers under contract or obligation to serve a community.

This kind of initiative seems to me the kind of demonstration of social concern on the part of the "outside" that residents of the ghetto and the bleak countryside of America can take inspiration from. It is this kind of service—out of conviction, rather than contract—which truly taps the talents of the legal profession in the neighborhoods where those talents are almost completely irrelevant today.

In my observations of antipoverty programs throughout New York City and my discussions with directors and staff members of local community action programs around the country, I have been most impressed by the caliber of individual which a successful antipoverty program demands.

As I talk with those who have run these programs, it seems to me that three strains are essential for the effective antipoverty warrior. These programs demand outstanding administrative skills, with acute awareness of the ins and outs of all public and private agencies in the city or area, plus the ability to persuade and bargain with agencies to expand or significantly modify their operations, using the prestige of the political leadership of the community, but remaining free of it at all times.

The personnel in antipoverty programs must also be politicians—politicians at least as effective as the best local politicians in this country, for the staff of such an effort must be able to sense the power and the potential power of all local political groups, as well as what each group will and will not tolerate as public policy.

Finally, the staff of an antipoverty program must be philosophers of a sort, able to keep sight of the sometimes incredible long run aim of eliminating poverty while dealing on a day-to-day basis with the thousand minor details that plague a program which seeks to do so much for so many.

I can think of no group of men and women who combine these skills and values more successfully than the legal profession of the United States. Lawyers possess unique skills and a perspective on social change involved in eliminating poverty from the American experience.

Abram Chayes, in his introduction to the Report to the National Conference on Law and Poverty in June of this year noted that the notion of due process for all citizens and the concept of law as "the dynamic of change" of our society are "impeccably conservative sentiments" which bear the potential for profound social change.

The task before our nation's lawyers is the practical realization of social change in a context of social justice.

Mr. SHRIVER. I said a hatchet job had been done by a few.

Mr. GODDELL. And professional throat slitters.

Mr. SHRIVER. I don't whether I said that. I might have been carried away, but I never would have applied that to you. You know that.