

UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91st CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

VOLUME 115—PART 21

OCTOBER 1, 1969, TO OCTOBER 8, 1969

(PAGES 27859 TO 29312)

The Wisconsin Department of Agriculture has its feet firmly on both sides of the fence, saying it "recognizes a need for use of certain chemicals for maintaining quality and quantity of food and fiber, but also takes note of the need for preservation of Wisconsin's natural resources."

The State Ag Department has ceased to recommend use of DDT for fighting Dutch elm disease, but doesn't recommend against it, either.

In the huge and less-coordinated federal government, the U.S. Department of Agriculture has replaced DDT, dieldrin and heptachlor, all persistent, with less long-lasting insecticides in several of its joint federal-state insect control programs.

The Village Board's decision to use DDT infrequently and in smaller amounts misses what is the greatest danger in DDT. That is the insecticide's persistence, or long-lasting effect. The DDT molecule evidently takes years to break down into harmless components. Thus, it continues to build up and keeps its killing power even when used in small amounts.

Precise levels of DDT tolerance (safety) have not been determined for man. Warning flags are flying, however, and those who buy and use DDT, and dieldrin as well, should use caution even if they intend to use small amounts.

Gov. Knowles of Wisconsin and the governors of the other midwest Great Lakes states, Minnesota, Illinois, Michigan and Indiana, have asked for a phase out of DDT and similar pesticides and restricted use of them until substitutes can be found.

There are insecticides other than DDT that are still dangerous to mosquitoes but less dangerous to Port Edwards village residents and to the domestic and wild animal population thereabouts.

The board can switch insecticides, fight mosquitoes and it won't get a black eye from anybody.

LEGAL SERVICES PROGRAM

Mr. MONDALE, Mr. President, the chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, the distinguished Senator from Texas (Mr. YARBOROUGH), delivered an excellent speech on the legal services program to the American Bar Association convention in Dallas, Tex., in August.

The speech sets out the value of legal services, what they have accomplished and what they can do. It describes the value of legal services both to the legal profession and to those in our country who are unable to afford the services of a lawyer.

I ask unanimous consent that the speech, entitled "There Are No Islands Any More," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THERE ARE NO ISLANDS ANY MORE

Chairman Smith, Chairman Raymond, distinguished Members of the Section of Legal Education and Admissions to the Bar and the National Conference of Bar Examiners, Distinguished members of the Bench and Bar, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Having served as a Bar Examiner, District Judge, practicing lawyer and recently a member of the Education Subcommittee of the Senate for the past 11½ years, I feel a genuine kinship to the purpose and work of both groups assembled here today.

I congratulate your efforts to maximize the quality of legal education in this country. Too few realize what an important role the Legal Education and Admission Section

plays in assuring that the quality of education in our Law Schools and character of the students is such that law graduates can truly meet the challenge, pressure, and the demands of a modern society as they enter the arena of the adversary system. Through the efforts of your section, 142 law schools in this country have been approved by the American Bar Association. You have assisted in the installation and development of several badly needed new law schools, including, I am proud to say, the new law school at Texas Tech in Lubbock. We in Texas are proud of this new law school, now in its second year.

The National Conference of Bar Examiners has played a no less important role in the search for legal excellence, through your efforts to upgrade procedures for determining qualifications of applicants for admission to the bar and to provide a coordinated clearing house for bar examination questions. Your assistance in the formulation of the Code of Recommended Standards for Bar Examiners and Bar Examinations also has had significant impact upon the augmentation of quality improvement. It was my honor and privilege, while a member of the Texas State Board of Law Examiners, to serve as an official of this National Conference.

We must not fail to recognize the importance of continuing our efforts to improve the quality, as well as the quantity, of our lawyers. Though any practicing lawyer has the tendency to the view that there "are already too many lawyers", the truth is we are not graduating enough. The law schools of our nation graduated 14,700 in 1967 and increased that number to 16,075 in 1968, but the law school enrollment for this year was less than that of last year. And this has occurred in the face of demands we are familiar with: The large law firms need more lawyers; government needs more lawyers; the industries need more house counsel; and the need for more general practitioners in towns and smaller cities throughout the country is unremitting.

But the problems facing our law schools and legal training centers do not stop at numbers, or even at the quality of law graduates. They are broad in base, as so ably pointed out by Professor Joseph Sneed, of Stanford University Law School and past president of the Association of American Law Schools, when he said at the Senate hearings on the 1968 amendments to the Higher Education Act:

"Legal education in this country faces many difficult problems. Like American Society in general, it must come to grips with problems caused by technological change, high density population centers, the demands of racial minorities for full participation in the social economic and political life of the nation, and the ebbing faith in the utility of reasoned discourse."

His testimony and the testimony of many others, and the efforts of many, such as my good friend General Ted Dicker, were instrumental in the subsequent enactment of important improvements in the Higher Education Act and the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963. These improvements were achieved through an omnibus bill which included the extension of, and improvements in, the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 in such a manner as to enhance the construction of badly needed law school facilities; the enactment of Title IV of the Act which provided for improvements in the important National Defense Student Loans, the Work Study Programs, and the Loan Insurance Program, upon which law students have relied heavily on in the past; and finally, the enactment of Title XI of the Act, which provided for an urgently needed new program, a program of grants by the Federal Government to law schools for clinical education.

Let me pause a moment to emphasize the importance of this latter innovation. This

program provides for partial financing by the Federal Government of a course which would include closely supervised field experience on the part of third year law students acting as advocate for clients in both civil and criminal cases. When I first started trying lawsuits as a young lawyer, and suffered those first few humiliating setbacks in courtroom combat, and thereby realized that perhaps I did not know quite how to put the law in action, I would have given much for the clinical training afforded by Title XI. I believe this kind of training is as essential to the lawyer as internship and residency is to the doctor.

It is pleasing to note that the Federal Government and the law schools are not the only sponsors of clinical training. A privately endowed organization, the Council on Legal Education for Professional Responsibility, Inc., founded just last year, has as its stated mission "the encouragement of clinical experience as a regular part of law school education."

Clinical training is but one step up the ladder to the improvements necessary to make the law and lawyers relevant to our modern society. Law schools, the government and private foundations must forget their efforts into a commonwealth in other areas. From a general perspective, the urgent need for a National Foundation of Law and Justice, substantially as proposed by Congressman Celler, cannot be disputed. The purpose of the Foundation, as Congressman Celler stated, is to "promote improvement in the Administration of justice and in legal education and research." I support the establishment of such a foundation because, analogously speaking, the law and the legal profession have as much need for the great coordinating and supporting services available through it, as the sciences have for the National Science Foundation and medicine has for the National Institutes of Health.

There is also the commendable work being done by the Council on Legal Opportunity. It is their laudatory goal to "recruit and facilitate the training of disadvantaged individuals, particularly the racially disadvantaged, for the legal profession."

And the valuable legal aid services promulgated under the Economic Opportunity Act, and implemented by the Office of Economic Opportunity, cannot be forgotten. As a result of its efforts, during 1967, almost 500,000 poor Americans received advice and representation from Legal Services attorneys in consumer, family juvenile, housing and welfare cases. An additional estimated 50,000 to 100,000 poor people were members of 800 tenant associations, farm worker groups and welfare mothers groups that used Legal Services programs to obtain their rights, set up credit unions and other self-help institutions and win their rightful share of public services. More than one million welfare and medical care recipients, farm workers, tenants and juveniles have been assisted by court decisions, won by Legal Services attorneys, that broadened and protected the rights of whole classes of people. Almost two million poor people who had long regarded the law as their enemy received preventive law education in their rights and responsibilities.

Last year Legal Services attorneys won seventy per cent of the more than 40,000 court trials in which they were involved and over sixty per cent of the more than 400 appellate cases in which they provided representation; averted or stayed eighty-six per cent of evictions sought against poor clients; and won seventy-nine per cent of cases involving local, state, and federal administrative agencies.

The OEO Legal Services Program is one of the more workable and successful poverty programs. It has enjoyed support from the American Bar Association, National Bar Association, National Legal Aid and Defender Association, and the American Trial Lawyers

Association. It is also one of the few that is budgeted at a higher level this year than last. It operated with \$42 million last year; this year it has been budgeted at \$58 million.

It is because of the great contributions this program has made to the eradication of the injustices suffered daily by the poor, that I have co-sponsored Senate Bill 1291, better known as "The Legal Services to the Poor Act." This bill would give some statutory protection to the whole legal services program to make sure that it is not curtailed in the future. It would authorize the program until 1974, and authorize \$90 as recommended by the ABA.

I have purposely reviewed the many frontal efforts being made to provide the public with more and better lawyers, and to provide them in the areas where they are most desperately needed, because I fear we may have underestimated the severity of the challenges which confront the legal profession. It is beyond "my poor power" to adequately convey to you the depth and the breadth of the mighty convulsion which is sweeping the land. It is a burst of ideas, an eruption of change in attitude, an upheaval against the system. It has occurred primarily among the young and the racially disadvantaged. It has touched every facet of society, our economics, our morals, our politics, and especially our law. Its manifestations include the riots in our great cities, the campus take-overs, the anti-war demonstrations, and the poverty and civil rights marches. But they also include more subtle and deeper symptoms: dissatisfaction by the poor and the minorities with the courts, with some religious pretensions, and most alarmingly, with a great deal of our political system.

But the deflections from this revolution in thought and action are not all bad. The young of today are not the pliant conformists of the last generation; they are militantly dedicated to the causes in which they believe; they are extremely conscious of social and political problems and they want to do something about them now, instead of just appointing committees to study them for ten years; they have an understanding revulsion for the hypocrisy which permeates parts of American society and so much of the American political system, and they confound their elders with greater concern for their social and political causes than for the financial and material superiority by which we are so accustomed to measuring success.

The law students of this generation have provided a revelation of this in the expressed desire of the top-ranking graduates to work with legal aid centers and participate in the social services aspects of the law, rather than immediately accepting lucrative jobs with the Wall Street firms. And this reflected attitude is part of the challenge, as well as the inspiration, in planning now and into the future for the education of lawyers.

We, as lawyers, have a great opportunity to seize the initiative in our efforts to cope with the great dispolision in thought and action, by working to slice out the ill-effects, by taking hold of the good effects, then harnessing these vibrant forces and propelling them in a constructive direction. In many respects, the law, in the broad sense, is our greatest hope. It is the common thread which is woven throughout the fabric of our entire civilization; it reflects our morals, it makes our government workable, and if democracy is to function, it should be the cohesive force of our response to the injustices in our society. DeTocqueville, one of the severest critics of American democracy, observed that "in a democracy social problems are translated into legal problems, if democracy coheres."

Frankly, it has taken our courts, our legal system, our legal educational institutions, our bar groups and the Congress far too long

to respond to our cancerous social ills. But real hope emerges from the fact that we have begun to respond. The courts, in such decisions as *Gideon v. Wainwright* have assured the ignorant and the poor of the right to counsel. Through our law schools and Congress, the clinical experience programs and the Legal Aid Society have focused attention upon the individual and made representation available to him, no matter what his race, or his economic status, and no matter how seemingly insignificant his legal problem may be. We have begun to face up to the reality which underlies so much of our troubles in these turbulent times, a reality so simply stated by the late Robert F. Kennedy: "The poor man looks upon the law as an enemy; for him the law is always taking something away."

But we really are only scratching the proverbial surface. We need the intensified research and supporting services of the Legal Foundation. We need to expand and improve Legal Aid Services by passing the "Legal Services to the Poor Act."

And our interest in better legal education and services cannot be divorced from the broad spectrum of all the vexations confronting our government and our society, and, indeed, all of man. Legal education is just a part of education generally. Recently, the United States Commissioner of Education, Dr. James E. Allen, Jr. asserted that by 1980, public spending on education will need to total \$100 billion annually, "with the Federal Government tripling its share of the cost for elementary and secondary schooling." This means we will need to increase Federal government spending on education from \$4 billion annually to \$25 billion within the decennium. But many educators disagreeing with Dr. Allen assert that local tax sources have dried up, and that the Federal government must be able to provide \$50 billion annually for education by 1980.

My friends, we cannot do this, we cannot spend what we must on higher education, let alone elementary and secondary education, unless we reorient our priorities. As I have stated many times before and repeat: We must end the dreadful expenditures of lives and tax dollars on that wild adventure in the valleys and hills of Vietnam. Precious American lives are being sacrificed at the altar of prestige. The young who need to be educated, the old who need medical services, and the middle-aged who pay most of the taxes are being short changed by its burden.

The asserted need for unnecessary military expenditures of vast proportions are but symptomatic of our failure to think through our national priorities.

The only way this country can meet its rendezvous with destiny and come to grips with the urgent crisis in education, health, poverty, environmental control, and in law and order, is for people like you to realize the dire consequence of spending over \$35 billion tax dollars in Vietnam per year and only \$4 billion on education, and to become full time lobbyists with the representatives of your government, insisting that the priorities of this country be reordered, so that we can truly commence the crash programs in health, education and the general welfare that are so long overdue.

Edna St. Vincent Millay in one of her beautiful poems tells us:

"This little life, from here to there—
Who lives it safely anywhere? . . .
The tidal wave devours the shore;
There are no islands anymore."

None of us are safe from the dangers of living in this restless age; threatened by the chance of nuclear annihilation; plagued by the reality of hunger, illiteracy and premature death in nearly two-thirds of the people of the world; troubled by a pollution of our environment that could become irreparable; and fearful that a lasting peace can never

be. Thus, we all must strive together, think together, work together, and care together, in a common effort to win the battle over these most ancient foes of man. We MUST do this, because no one of us is an island, anymore.

We must renew what Joe Sneed called "the ebbing faith in the utility of reasoned discourse." I have a faith, a belief, a confidence in the law as the fairest and most just of our institutions. Due to your great work the legal system is growing in its devotion to justice and fairness faster than any other of our institutions. The high standards of intellectual excellence, devotion to reason, and high standards of ethical conduct, increasingly inculcated by legal admission requirements and superior legal educational standards are bed rocks upon which a sounder legal and governmental order are being evolved. I salute you and your leadership in building this foundation for civilization.

THE BIG THICKET—A SAFE HAVEN FOR THE ENDANGERED RED-COCKADED WOODPECKER

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Big Thicket area of southeast Texas is a refuge for several species of birds and animals which are facing the threat of extinction. One of these rare and endangered species which has found a haven in the Big Thicket is the red-cockaded woodpecker.

This beautiful bird is the smallest and least known of the southern woodpeckers. It nests and rears its young in the trunks of living pine trees. No other woodpecker requires a live tree nest. When the nest tree dies, the red-cockaded woodpecker will desert that tree and make a new nest in a living tree nearby.

At present, the red-cockaded woodpecker is in danger of becoming extinct because the pine trees it requires for nesting are fast being cut down by lumber companies. If we desire to save this beautiful bird it will be necessary that steps be taken to preserve the pine forests of the Big Thicket. This is another reason why my bill, S. 4, which would create a 100,000-acre Big Thicket National Park, should be passed by the 91st Congress. This park would save for future generations this beautiful area and with it the rare plants and wildlife found in it.

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE SHOULD BE PRESERVED

Mr. MCGEE. Mr. President, I noted with great interest in the Washington Post of October 5 an article written by Richard N. Goodwin upholding the basic good sense still present in the electoral college, despite the recent movement to put the election of our Chief Executive on a direct popular vote basis.

Mr. Goodwin and I have, on occasion, had reason to disagree. But in this case, we are agreed. With him, I share a reluctance to scrap the electoral college simply because it threatens to be unworkable. To use a tired cliché, we would be throwing the baby out with the bathwater, for it is the electoral system of counting votes for the Presidency which has, it seems to me, given our politics a fundamental steadiness through the years. We do not have a multitude of political parties because they lack hope of achieving