

the advisers who have been led to assume such unrealistic policies in Latin America, when Betancourt will similarly unmask and tell us what he really wants. But until that moment comes, he will continue, like Tito, like Sukarno, to fatten on our aid and our gullibility.

While the men around Kennedy and Munoz Marin in Puerto Rico are working frantically to bring Bosch back and to reimpose him upon the Dominican people, Bosch himself has drawn a picture of the future which he and his kind are planning for Latin America. Writing in the October 14 issue of the *New Leader*, a pro-Betancourt weekly, he said:

The peoples of Latin America find themselves on the brink of a revolution. It is a revolution that will once and for all do away with the power of the minority of large landowners, businessmen and the upper-middle class of our hemisphere, and that will dispose of the military cliques which serve them. * * * But I fear that it will be almost impossible to prevent the coming revolution in Latin America from being bloody, destructive and prolonged.

I wonder if President Kennedy with his propensity for the Latin American left, proposes to underwrite that "bloody, destructive and prolonged revolution."

I wonder if that is the kind of leadership we would like to see throughout all Latin America. I wonder if this is the future our people are paying taxes for through support of the Alliance for Progress.

I have in this speech raised the question of our official all-out acceptance of the good faith of Betancourt and Bosch because the issue has a gravity which far outweighs our natural inclination to trust the judgment of our national policymakers.

We are fighting a cold war for the security of this hemisphere. Only a few years ago, because we refused to face the deadly seriousness of this struggle, we indulged ourselves in the luxury of giving the benefit of the doubt to Fidel Castro. When three former U.S. Ambassadors to Cuba—Mr. Braden, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Gardner—warned the State Department that Castro's liberalism was only a masquerade and that he was actually an agent of the Communist international, the warnings were contemptuously dismissed as rightist claptrap. Then, as now, we were told to join the hallelujah chorus and give Castro all our support.

What was our reward for accepting this ill-advised counsel? We have lived to see Cuba, under our horrified eyes, converted into an armed and bristling Russian base, frowning at us just 90 miles away.

Are we going to make that same mistake again?

The same kind of "gee whiz" minds which accepted and lionized Castro in 1959 are now whooping up a demand for unlimited support for Betancourt in his staged contest with the Castroites. In the face of his 30-year Communist and revolutionary record, we are being asked to accept him as America's Latin American standardbearer against Moscow.

If we fall into this trap, we will be inviting a disaster in Latin America the

magnitude of which will dwarf even the catastrophe in Cuba. Can the United States afford to take that risk? Can we unquestioningly accept the word of Mr. Schlesinger, who influences the administration on many things including Latin American affairs, that the bad man of Venezuela's yesterday is now noble and admirable? Just when and where did the switch take place?

Ladies and gentlemen, I insist that we cannot afford to take that gamble. The administration is wrong in Venezuela, just as it was wrong in Peru, in the Dominican Republic, and before that in Cuba. Let us reverse ourselves before we become mired in something which can only lead to further national humiliation and a weakening of the cause of freedom in the Western Hemisphere.

In summary, the reasons for my remarks today, and the sole motive behind them, are to promote the good of the United States and at the same time to aid the cause of the peoples of all Latin American countries—the cause of individual freedoms, human dignity, and a better way of life through democratic self-governments of their own choosing.

I recognize this is a complex and monumental challenge in any one country, to say nothing of all those among the Latin American countries where genuine reform is still a crying need and where progress has not yet had even its beginnings. I labor under no delusions that my lone voice will carry very far or that it is powerful enough to be even a little effective. But what I have had to say needed to be said. It needed to be said because I feel that the American people for the most part have been getting only one side of the picture. It has been my objective here to at least let the public know there is another side; to state what in my judgment that other side includes—both from the standpoint of known fact and fair and reasonable conclusion; toward the end that both the people at home and those elected and otherwise chosen to represent and serve them in government may better weigh all factors and have the benefit of all evidence in charting and following the best possible course of action throughout the Americas.

THE WILDERNESS BILL

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] is recognized for 45 minutes.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, recently, on September 17, 1963, it was my privilege to be on a panel at the Los Angeles meeting of the American Mining Congress conducted by the esteemed chairman of our Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the Honorable WAYNE ASPINALL of Colorado, and to have as a fellow member of the panel the chairman of the Interior Committee's Subcommittee on Public Lands, the Honorable WALTER BARING, of Nevada.

The wilderness bill, with which I have so long been concerned, was not among my own assigned subjects for that day, but it was the full subject of Mr. BARING's remarks and was introduced by Mr.

ASPINALL. What they had to say about wilderness legislation was of keen interest to me at the time and has since influenced me to reconsider some aspects of this important subject in the light of their remarks.

REMARKS BY COMMITTEE AND SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

Our chairman, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL], introduced the full texts of these addresses into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for October 3, 1963, where they can be found on pages 18606 and 18607.

Mr. ASPINALL himself made the comment that "we are continually making additional Members of the House of Representatives aware of the basic constitutional question requiring affirmative action by Congress in the designation of wilderness areas."

Mr. BARING assured that—and I quote him:

If there is going to be a wilderness bill, there will be provisions for affirmative action by Congress after the Chief Executive or his Cabinet officers have made their review and submitted their recommendations to Congress.

Mr. BARING indicated that further action regarding the wilderness bill would be dependent on its proponents being, as Mr. BARING put it, "willing to move in the direction of the compromise offered by the House committee last year."

NEW BILLS PROPOSED TO MEET SUGGESTIONS

During the past weeks I have been pursuing these and other suggestions by the chairman of our committee. With other proponents of the wilderness bill I have been working toward the development of a proposal that might meet the requirements of all concerned and thus merit prompt enactment.

I am today introducing the results of these efforts as a new bill, and am asking unanimous consent that its full text appear at the conclusion of my remarks.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION BY CONGRESS

I am happy to assure my colleagues that this revised bill does propose and provide for what our chairman described as "affirmative action by Congress in the designation of wilderness areas."

On June 27, 1963, in a statement to the House—a reprint of which I later sent to each of my colleagues—I sought to indicate a willingness to meet this requirement. On that occasion I said—and I now quote:

Let me emphasize that it is the purpose of advocates of the wilderness bill to see positive action by Congress in establishing a sound national wilderness preservation policy and a program to make this policy effective on the land.

And I said further:

Any proposals that provide for more positive congressional action will have our support if they likewise insure the protection as wilderness of the areas provided for in the act until Congress does take further positive action.

Accordingly, when I found that some redrafting of the wilderness bill had been attempted in the direction, as Mr. BARING put it, of the House committee bill last year, I undertook to cooperate by adapting and adopting this myself.

It is this measure that I am today introducing.

SATISFACTION IN PROSPECTS FOR AGREEMENT

Before describing this bill in detail and analyzing its contents, I should like to emphasize briefly the satisfaction with which I anticipate the prospect of agreement on a wilderness bill.

If wilderness is to be preserved in our country, it must be by the firm determination of all who are concerned.

The urgency for the preservation of some of our remaining areas of wilderness has come from all parts of the Nation. It has been nonpartisan. In enacting a measure to establish wilderness preservation as a national policy, we must accordingly be nonpartisan and nationwide in our view.

It is especially important that those whose enterprises might destroy the wilderness be among the supporters of its preservation. They can see that the needs for which wilderness might be sacrificed are met outside the wilderness. They can provide the consensus on which the preservation of wilderness in our culture must be based if it is to endure.

I would indeed be happy to see differences regarding the wilderness bill resolved and to see a prospect for its enactment with a broad basis of nonpartisan national support.

NEW BILL ONE ON WHICH WE CAN AGREE

The bill I now introduce, I am convinced, is one on which we can all agree. The committee may find ways to improve it, and I shall be glad to cooperate in its further consideration, but essentially, I am satisfied, it meets the criticisms made against its predecessors and meets these in a way to merit its support.

It is described as follows:

DESCRIPTION OF THE BILL

The revised wilderness bill (H.R. 9070) proposes to exercise congressional prerogatives with regard to Federal lands—pursuant to the Constitution's article IV, section 3, 2d paragraph—by taking positive action to first establish a national congressional policy for the preservation of some Federal areas as wilderness; second, provide a program for carrying out this policy through the administration of existing wilderness within the national park system, within wildlife refuges and ranges, and within certain designated portions of the national forests, by the presently established agencies; and do this in such a way as to preserve the wilderness character of the lands without interfering with their present purposes and without transferring any lands from one jurisdiction to another; and, third, make provisions to prevent the wilderness preservation program from interfering with other programs and to provide for emergency and other exceptions.

These objectives the wilderness bill would achieve through, first, the declaration of a national policy; second, the designation by Congress of wilderness areas; third, the provision of guidelines for the use and administration of the areas involved; and, fourth, certain other provisions related to gifts, bequests, contributions, inholdings, records, and reports.

The measure requires no expenditures beyond those that would be called for in any case in administering the park, refuge, or forest lands for their presently established purposes.

The bill's provisions are more fully yet briefly described as follows:

First. A national policy "to secure the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness" by establishing wilderness areas, is set forth in section 2, which likewise includes a definition of wilderness.

Second. The areas designated or to be considered for designation as wilderness areas are specified, and procedures for determining the areas to be considered are set up. Any lands not provided for in this act are to be added only by a subsequent act of Congress.

Third. Guidelines for the use and administration of the wilderness areas are set forth in section 4, which says that nothing in the act shall interfere with the purposes the areas serve as park, refuge, or forest land but that these purposes shall be served in such a way as to preserve the wilderness character of the lands designated as wilderness. Section 4 also prohibits certain uses inconsistent with wilderness preservation and makes special provisions or exceptions regarding certain nonconforming uses. The President is authorized to allow certain otherwise prohibited uses in specific areas of wilderness if he finds these uses "will better serve the interests of the United States and the people thereof."

Fourth. Certain other provisions regarding State and private lands within wilderness areas, gifts or bequests of land, records and reports, and contributions are in sections 5, 6, and 7.

EXPLANATION, SECTION BY SECTION

An explanation of the measure, section by section, is as follows:

¹
Section 1 states the title as the "Wilderness Act."

²
Section 2 is a statement of policy, including a definition.

Section 2(a) is a statement of Congress's belief that increasing population and human developments will occupy or modify all areas of the Nation except those set aside for preservation in their natural condition. It is accordingly declared to be the policy of Congress to assure the Nation an enduring resource of wilderness, and for this purpose a National Wilderness Preservation System is established to be composed of appropriate federally owned areas.

Section 2(b) defines wilderness in three sentences. The first states the nature of wilderness in an ideal concept of areas where the natural community of life is untrammelled by man, who visits but does not remain. The second sentence describes an area of wilderness as it is to be considered for the purposes of the act—areas where man's works are substantially unnoticeable, where there is outstanding opportunity for solitude or a primitive or unconfined type of recreation, and where there may also be ecological, geological, or other features of scientific, educational, scenic, or historical values—areas including at least 5,000 acres and of sufficient size to make their

preservation as wilderness practicable. The third sentence says that for the purposes of this act wilderness shall include the areas provided for in its section 3.

3

Section 3 sets out the areas of Federal lands in national forests, in the park system, and in wildlife refuges and game ranges which—subject to existing private rights—are designated as wilderness areas or are to be considered for such designation. A procedure is established that will assure review of every area by the executive agency in charge of it prior to its designation by the Congress. Addition of areas not specified in the act is limited to those established by later action by Congress.

NATIONAL FOREST LANDS

Section 3(a) designates as wilderness areas the presently existing wilderness, wild, and canoe areas of the national forests, and sets forth requirements that maps and descriptions of the areas and regulations regarding them be available to the public.

Subsections 3 (a) and (b) both deal with national forest areas now administratively classified for wilderness protection. There are 86 of these areas, totaling some 14,731,471 acres (out of the national forest total of 186 million acres).

The 17 wilderness and 32 wild areas and the 1 canoe area have already been carefully reviewed by the Forest Service for classification as such and were classified after having been subjected to public-notice and public-hearing procedures. Section 3(a) accordingly designates these as wilderness areas without further review and sets forth requirements for maps and descriptions of them and for having maps, descriptions, and copies of notices and reports available to the public. These areas immediately designated total 8,609,659 acres—wilderness areas 6,409,284, wild 1,165,523, and canoe 1,034,852.

Section 3(b) deals with the 3 dozen now existing primitive areas in the national forests, the 36 areas comprising in all 6,121,812 acres. These areas are made subject to further review, half to be completed in 3 years and all within 5 years. After the reviews by the Forest Service, the Secretary of Agriculture is to report the findings to the President and the President is to make recommendations regarding each area to the Senate and the House. These recommendations may include a proposed elimination and declassification of portions not found to be predominantly of wilderness value or proposed addition of contiguous areas of national forest lands predominantly of wilderness value.

Each such recommendation will become effective only if so provided by an act of Congress. The primitive areas are to continue in their status quo until Congress has acted on a presidential recommendation or has determined otherwise.

There are other national forest areas that are in fact wilderness but have never been so classified for protection as such. Nothing in this bill would prevent the Secretary of Agriculture from considering such areas for preservation. Each

area, however, will have to be the subject of further legislation in the future. The bill provides that—and I quote:

No Federal lands shall be designated as "wilderness areas" except as provided for in this Act or by a subsequent Act.

Section 3(c) makes a provision for wilderness within national park system areas and national wildlife refuges and ranges that is like that made with regard to primitive areas.

The Secretary of the Interior in this instance is to review the roadless portions comprising 5,000 or more acres in the parks and refuges and report his recommendations to the President.

The President is to advise the House and the Senate of his recommendations.

An area will be given wilderness protection on a permanent basis only if and when Congress so provides. The areas are to be administered in status quo until Congress has acted on a Presidential recommendation or until Congress has determined otherwise.

National park and refuge lands, unlike those in national forests, have already been removed from commodity production, and particular portions are not at present specifically designated for wilderness preservation. Within the parks there are certain needs for roads for visitors and for administrative purposes and for accommodations for visitors in park areas and for facilities and developments for visitors in parks and for wildlife purposes in refuges. Except for these needs, however, the park and refuge lands are available, without apparent conflict, for preservation as wilderness if this proves desirable on review.

The National Park Service, in response to the new national emphasis on wilderness preservation and as a part of its "master planning," has already in recent years set up a pilot program to identify the areas of actual wilderness in two or three parks in each region, outside the Washington, D.C., area. Preliminary data, I understand, are available now for Big Bend, Glacier, Grand Canyon, Olympic, Rocky Mountain, Sequoia, Zion, Mount McKinley, and Isle Royale National Parks. A start has already been made.

Until such reviews and studies are planned for all the years with at least preliminary surveys, however, it is not possible to know precisely the acreage available for wilderness preservation in the national parks and monuments.

Roads and accommodations are estimated at present to occupy less than 10 percent of the approximate 22 million acres in the entire national park system. It can accordingly be estimated that the national park wilderness to be preserved will be chosen out of about 20 million acres as proposed in this bill.

Much of the area of wildlife refuges is of maximum benefit for its wildlife purposes only when developed with installations, including impoundments, for example, that disqualify an area as wilderness. The portions to be recommended after review can thus not be forecast precisely, but they will be chosen out of some 23 refuges and ranges totaling nearly 25 million acres and known to include wilderness.

A tabulation, which I ask permission to have appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, following this description of the bill, shows the acreage in the wilderness, wild, and canoe areas that the bill proposes to designate as wilderness and also national forest primitive areas to be reviewed for permanent protection as wilderness, and areas of the national park system and national wildlife refuges and ranges containing roadless areas to be reviewed for preservation as wilderness, with gross acreages.

Section 3(d) requires the Secretary of the Interior or of Agriculture, before submitting recommendations to the President regarding an area, to give public notice in the Federal Register and the local press, hold public hearings, and invite the Governor, county officials, and Federal agencies concerned to submit their views. Any views submitted must be included with any recommendations regarding the area to the President and to Congress.

Section 3(e) provides that any boundary changes to be made in the future are to be subjected to public notice and hearings, recommended to the President with maps and descriptions, and are to be effective only when acted on by Congress as in the establishment of areas.

4

Section 4 deals with the use of wilderness areas.

Section 4(a) makes plain in a declaration and also with specific references that this legislation is to be within and supplemental to and not in interference with the purposes for which the national forests, parks, and refuges have been established and the legislation so providing. This subsection includes the provision that all accommodations and installations in parks and monuments are to be incident to the conservation and use of the areas in their natural condition.

Section 4(b) provides that, except as otherwise provided in the legislation, each agency administering an area designated as wilderness shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area and shall administer the area for its other purposes in such a way as also to preserve its wilderness character. The wilderness areas are to be devoted, with the exceptions specified in the legislation, to the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservation, and historical use, and the use is to be in harmony, both in kind and degree, with the wilderness environment and its preservation.

Section 4(c) prohibits certain uses except as specifically provided elsewhere in the act. These prohibited uses are those inconsistent with wilderness preservation, such as commercial enterprises, motor vehicles and motorized equipment, roads, and structures and installations. The minimum required for administration is permitted and so are emergency measures for health and safety.

Section 4(d) makes a series of seven special provisions:

First. Aircraft and motorboats may continue to be used where they are already established, and measures to con-

trol fire, insects, and disease may be taken subject to conditions deemed desirable by the appropriate secretary.

Second. Any activity, including prospecting, for gathering information about mineral or other resources in national forest wilderness areas is permitted in a manner compatible with preserving the wilderness environment. Furthermore, the Secretary of the Interior is directed to develop and conduct in consultation with the Secretary of Agriculture a survey by the Bureau of Mines and the Geological Survey to determine the mineral values present in these areas and to make the results available and submit them to the President and Congress.

Mining and prospecting as at present may, of course, continue within the primitive area in the status quo administration of these areas which this bill will provide pending the review of these areas already thus provided.

This is, indeed, a concession to those who have opposed earlier wilderness bills for reasons related to mining. It seems to me to be a reasonable one and an example of the interest that proponents of wilderness legislation have in reaching an agreement.

Those special provisions in section 4(d) (2) are in further consideration of certain criticisms. They make it possible to obtain information on the resources, including minerals, within wilderness areas.

Third. Within wilderness areas in the national forests, the President may authorize prospecting, mining, exploration for and production of oil and gas, establishment and maintenance of reservoirs, water conservation works, transmission lines, and other facilities needed in the public interest. Also, grazing of livestock shall be permitted to continue in national-forest areas where it is an established practice, subject to such restrictions and regulations as the Secretary deems necessary.

Fourth. Various acts applicable to the Boundary Waters Canoe Area in Minnesota are to continue to be applicable to the area and are not modified by this act.

Fifth. Commercial services are permitted as necessary in realizing the recreational or other purposes of the areas, such as provision of horses and guide service to wilderness visitors by persons headquartered and conducting their business operations outside the wilderness area, or taking of pictures or observing and recording of scientific data for pay.

Sixth. Nothing in the legislation, it is explicitly provided, is to constitute an express or implied claim or denial on the part of the Federal Government as to exemption from State water laws.

Seventh. Hunting and fishing are permitted in national forest wilderness areas to the extent not incompatible with wilderness preservation. Nothing is to be construed, however, as affecting State jurisdiction or responsibility as to fish and wildlife.

5

Section 5 deals with State and private lands within wilderness areas.

Section 5(a) provides that where State inholdings exist in wilderness areas, the State shall be afforded access, or shall be given Federal lands in exchange of equal value. It provides that where a State surrenders mineral rights in such an exchange, the Federal Government may do so also.

Section 5(b) assures private owners of lands within national forest areas the ingress and egress customarily enjoyed.

Section 5(c) authorizes the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture to acquire private landholdings within wilderness areas, subject to the concurrence of the owner and approval of necessary appropriations by the Congress.

6

Section 6 authorizes the acceptance of gifts, bequests, and contributions.

Section 6(a) authorizes the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture to accept gifts of land for preservation as wilderness, subject to regulations in accordance with agreements incident to the gift or bequest which are consistent with the policy of the legislation.

Section 6(b) authorizes the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture to accept contributions and gifts to be used to further the purposes of the legislation and makes such gifts for public purposes subject to the usual deduction for purposes of income, estate, and gift taxes in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Revenue Code of 1954.

7

Section 7 provides for an annual joint report to Congress by the Secretaries of Agriculture and the Interior on the status of the wilderness system, with any recommendations they wish to make.

SUMMARY—PRINCIPAL FEATURES OUTLINED

The principal features of this wilderness bill (H.R. 9070) may be outlined in summary as follows:

It establishes by congressional positive action a national policy for wilderness preservation.

It establishes a program by means of which such a wilderness preservation policy can be realized.

It adapts this program to existing land uses, by applying it to areas that can continue to serve their present purposes while still being preserved as wilderness.

It recognizes the economic and commercial needs for commodity and other uses that may be in conflict with wilderness preservation and provides for reasonable and special consideration of these needs.

Two key portions of the bill may be quoted to represent its purpose and its approach.

Section 2(a) says:

To assure that an increasing population, accompanied by expanding settlement and growing mechanization, does not occupy and modify all areas within the United States and its possessions, leaving no lands designated for preservation and protection in their natural condition, it is hereby declared to be the policy of the Congress of the United States to secure for the American people of present and future generations the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness. For

this purpose there is hereby established a National Wilderness Preservation System to be composed of federally owned areas designated by Congress as "wilderness areas," and these shall be administered for the use and enjoyment of the American people in such manner as will leave them unimpaired for future use and enjoyment as wilderness, and so as to provide for the protection of these areas, the preservation of their wilderness character, and for the gathering and dissemination of information regarding their use and enjoyment as wilderness.

Section 6(a) says:

Except as otherwise provided in this act, nothing in this act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purposes stated in the establishment of, or pertaining to, any park, monument, or other unit of the national park system, or any national forest, wildlife refuge, game range, or other area involved, except that each agency administering any area designated as wilderness shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area and shall so administer such area for such other purposes for which it may have been established as also to preserve its wilderness character. Except as otherwise provided in this act, the wilderness areas shall be devoted to the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservation, and historical use. Subject to the provisions of this act, all such use shall be in harmony, both in kind and degree, with the wilderness environment and with its preservation.

Less than 15 million national-forest acres—out of a 186-million total, much less than 20 million acres in the national park system, and far less than 25 million in wildlife refuges will be involved—less than some 2 percent of the Nation's land and water area.

As the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs noted in its April 3, 1963, report No. 109, on the Senate act S. 4, which in this respect is like this revised bill:

No cost is involved since all of the areas are Federal lands, all areas are to continue to be administered by the agency presently in control of them, and no new bureau or agency is involved.

There are simply prescribed, by statute, as that report points out, the standards and criteria for the management of a relatively few areas to assure their protection "as natural sites for the cultural, inspirational, recreational, and scientific values which only such areas can provide."

A DESIRABLE CONSUMMATION

Such a measure as here proposed, benefiting from the criticisms and suggestions of our esteemed colleagues, including the chairmen of our Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and its Subcommittee on Public Lands, and incorporating the basic objectives of those of us who have long been advocating a wilderness bill, can provide us the opportunity for consensus and effective agreement—a consummation much to be desired. I am happy to participate in such a result of our long concern with such legislation.

I ask to have appended at this point a tabulation of the areas involved, as referred to earlier, and finally the full text of the proposed new wilderness bill—H.R. 9070.

Wilderness areas designated by the wilderness bill (H.R. 9070), being the present national forest wilderness, wild, and canoe areas, with gross acreages

NATIONAL FOREST WILDERNESS AREAS	
	Gross acreage
Anaconda-Pintlar, Mont.....	159, 086
Bob Marshall, Mont.....	950, 000
Bridger, Wyo.....	383, 300
Eagle Cap, Oreg.....	220, 280
Gila, N. Mex.....	438, 626
Glacier Peak, Wash.....	458, 505
Marble Mountain, Calif.....	214, 543
Mazatzal, Ariz.....	205, 346
Minarets, Calif.....	109, 500
North Absaroka, Wyo.....	359, 700
Pecos, N. Mex.....	165, 000
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Selway-Bitterroot, Idaho.....	989, 179
Selway-Bitterroot, Mont.....	254, 480
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Total.....	1, 243, 659
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South Absaroka, Wyo.....	506, 300
Superstition, Ariz.....	124, 140
Teton, Wyo.....	563, 500
Three Sisters, Oreg.....	196, 708
Yolla-Bolly-Middle Eel, Calif.....	111, 091
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Total gross acreage, wilderness areas.....	6, 409, 284
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Caribou, Calif.....	19, 080
Chiricahua, Ariz.....	18, 000
Cucamonga, Calif.....	9, 022
Diamond Peak, Oreg.....	35, 440
Dome Land, Calif.....	62, 500
Galluro, Ariz.....	55, 000
Gates of the Mountains, Mont.....	28, 562
Gearhart Mountain, Oreg.....	18, 709
Goat Rocks, Wash.....	82, 680
Great Gulf, N.H.....	5, 400
Hoover, Calif.....	42, 800
Jarbidge, Nev.....	64, 827
Kalmiopsis, Oreg.....	78, 850
LaGarita, Colo.....	49, 000
Linville Gorge, N.C.....	7, 655
Maroon Bells-Snowmass, Colo.....	66, 280
Mokelumne, Calif.....	50, 400
Mount Adams, Wash.....	42, 411
Mount Hood, Oreg.....	14, 160
Mount Washington, Oreg.....	46, 655
Mount Zirkel-Dome Peak, Colo.....	53, 400
Mountain Lakes, Oreg.....	23, 071
Rawah, Colo.....	26, 797
San Geronio, Calif.....	34, 718
San Jacinto, Calif.....	21, 955
San Pedro Parks, N. Mex.....	41, 132
Sierra Ancha, Ariz.....	20, 850
Strawberry Mountain, Oreg.....	33, 653
Thousand Lakes, Calif.....	16, 335
West Elk, Colo.....	62, 000
Wheeler Peak, N. Mex.....	6, 051
White Mountain, N. Mex.....	28, 230
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Total gross acreage, wild areas.....	1, 165, 523
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NATIONAL FOREST BOUNDARY WATERS CANOE AREA	
Superior Division, Minnesota.....	887, 739
Little Indian Sioux Division, Minnesota.....	104, 908
Caribou Division, Minnesota.....	42, 205
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Total gross acreage, boundary waters canoe area.....	1, 034, 852
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SUMMARY, NATIONAL FOREST WILDERNESS, WILD, AND CANOE AREAS	
Wilderness areas (17).....	6, 409, 284
Wild areas (32).....	1, 165, 523
Boundary waters canoe area (1).....	1, 034, 852
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Total gross acreage in 50 areas designated by the wilderness bill.....	8, 609, 659

National forest primitive areas to be reviewed for permanent protection as wilderness and areas of the national park system and national wildlife ranges and refuges containing roadless areas to be reviewed for preservation as wilderness, with gross acreages

NATIONAL FOREST PRIMITIVE AREAS	
	Gross acreage
Absaroka, Mont.	64,000
Agua Tibia, Calif.	26,760
Beartooth, Mont.	230,000
Black Range, N. Mex.	169,984
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Blue Range, Ariz.	181,566
Blue Range, N. Mex.	36,598
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Total	218,164
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Cabinet Mountains, Mont.	90,000
Cloud Peak, Wyo.	137,000
Desolation Valley, Calif.	41,383
Devil Canyon-Bear Canyon, Calif.	35,267
Emigrant Basin, Calif.	98,043
Flat Tops, Colo.	117,800
Gila, N. Mex.	132,788
Glacier, Wyo.	177,000
Gore Range-Eagle Nest, Colo.	61,275
High Sierra, Calif.	393,945
High Uintas, Utah	240,717
Idaho, Idaho	1,232,744
Mission Mountains, Mont.	75,500
Mount Baldy, Ariz.	7,400
Mount Jefferson, Oreg.	86,700
North Cascade, Wash.	801,000
Pine Mountain, Ariz.	17,500
Popo Alge, Wyo.	70,000
Salmon River Breaks, Idaho	217,185
Salmon Trinity Alps, Calif.	285,756
San Juan, Colo.	240,000
San Rafael, Calif.	74,990
Sawtooth, Idaho	200,942
South Warner, Calif.	70,682
Spanish Peaks, Mont.	50,000
Stratified, Wyo.	202,000
Sycamore Canyon, Ariz.	47,230
Uncompahgre, Colo.	69,253
Upper Rio Grande, Colo.	56,600
Ventana, Calif.	54,857
Wilson Mountains, Colo.	27,347
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Total acreage in national forest "primitive areas"	6,121,812

NATIONAL PARKS CONTAINING AREAS OF WILDERNESS, WITH TOTAL GROSS ACREAGE OF EACH PARK	
Acadia, Maine	41,634
Big Bend, Tex.	708,221
Bryce Canyon, Utah	36,010
Carrizosa Caverns, N. Mex.	49,448
Crater Lake, Oreg.	160,290
Everglades, Fla.	1,400,533
Glacier, Mont.	1,013,129
Grand Canyon, Ariz.	673,575
Grand Teton, Wyo.	310,350
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Great Smoky Mountains, N.C.	275,332
Great Smoky Mountains, Tenn.	236,346
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Total	511,678

Haleakala, Hawaii	26,403
Hawaii, Hawaii	220,345
Isle Royale, Mich.	539,339
Kings Canyon, Calif.	454,650
Lassen Volcanic, Calif.	105,922
Mammoth Cave, Ky.	51,354
Mesa Verde, Colo.	51,334
Mount McKinley, Alaska	1,939,493
Mount Rainier, Wash.	241,782
Olympic, Wash.	896,599
Petrified Forest, Ariz.	94,161
Rocky Mountain, Colo.	260,018
Sequoia, Calif.	386,551
Shenandoah, Va.	211,325
Wind Cave, S. Dak.	28,059

National forest primitive areas to be reviewed for permanent protection as wilderness and areas of the national park system and national wildlife ranges and refuges containing roadless areas to be reviewed for preservation as wilderness, with gross acreages—Continued

NATIONAL PARKS CONTAINING AREAS OF WILDERNESS, WITH TOTAL GROSS ACREAGE OF EACH PARK—CON.	
	Gross acreage
Yellowstone, Idaho	31,488
Yellowstone, Mont.	151,068
Yellowstone, Wyo.	2,039,217
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Total	2,221,773

Yosemite, Calif.	760,951
Zion, Utah	147,035

Acreage in National Parks 13,541,962

NATIONAL MEMORIAL PARK	
Theodore Roosevelt, N. Dak.	70,374

NATIONAL SEASHORE RECREATION AREA	
Cape Hatteras, N.C.	28,500

NATIONAL MONUMENTS CONTAINING AREAS OF WILDERNESS, WITH TOTAL GROSS ACREAGE OF EACH MONUMENT

Arches, Utah	34,250
Badlands, S. Dak.	111,530
Black Canyon of the Gunnison, Colo.	13,548
Capitol Reef, Utah	39,173
Channel Islands, Calif.	18,167
Chiricahua, Ariz.	10,646
Craters of the Moon, Idaho	48,184
Colorado, Colo.	17,693

Death Valley, Calif.	1,792,520
Death Valley, Nev.	115,240

Total 1,907,760

Dinosaur, Colo.	152,259
Dinosaur, Utah	53,038

Total 205,297

Glacier Bay, Alaska	2,274,595
Grand Canyon, Ariz.	198,280
Joshua Tree, Calif.	557,935
Katmai, Alaska	2,697,590
Lava Beds, Calif.	46,239
Organ Pipe Cactus, Ariz.	330,874
Saguaro, Ariz.	63,284
White Sands, N. Mex.	146,535

Acreage in National Monuments 8,721,500

NATIONAL WILDLIFE RANGES CONTAINING AREAS OF WILDERNESS, WITH TOTAL GROSS ACREAGE OF EACH RANGE

Arctic National Wildlife Range, Alaska	8,900,000
Cabeza Prieta Game Range, Ariz.	860,000
Charles Sheldon Antelope Range, Nev.	543,898
Clarence Rhode National Wildlife Range, Alaska	1,890,000
Desert Game Range, Nev.	2,188,415
Fort Peck Game Range, Mont.	950,827
Izembek National Wildlife Range, Alaska	415,000
Kenai National Moose Range, Alaska	2,057,197
Kofa Game Range, Ariz.	660,000
Montana National Bison Range, Mont.	18,541

Acreage in national wildlife ranges 18,483,878

National forest primitive areas to be reviewed for permanent protection as wilderness and areas of the national park system and national wildlife ranges and refuges containing roadless areas to be reviewed for preservation as wilderness, with gross acreages—Continued

NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGES CONTAINING AREAS OF WILDERNESS, WITH TOTAL GROSS ACREAGE OF EACH REFUGE

	Gross acreage
Aleutian Islands, Alaska	2,720,235
Bogoslof, Alaska (an island)	390
Aransas, Tex.	47,261
Cape Romain, S.C.	34,716
Delta, La.	48,834
Kodiak, Alaska	1,815,000
Moosehorn, Maine	22,565
Nunivak, Alaska	1,109,384
Okefenokee, Ga.	330,973
Red Rock Lakes Migratory Waterfowl Refuge, Mont.	39,943
Seney, Mich.	95,531
Sheldon National Antelope Refuge, Nev.	34,131
Wichita Mountains, Okla.	59,019

Acreage in national wildlife refuges 6,357,982

SUMMARY, NATIONAL FOREST PRIMITIVE AREAS AND AREAS CONTAINING WILDERNESS IN THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM AND IN WILDLIFE REFUGES AND RANGES

National forest primitive areas (36)	6,121,812
National parks (28)	13,541,962
National monuments (18)	8,721,500
National memorial park (1)	70,374
National seashore recreation area (1)	28,500

Gross acreage in national park system 22,362,336

National wildlife ranges (10)	18,483,878
National wildlife refuges (13)	6,357,982

Gross acreage in national wildlife refuges and ranges 24,841,860

Total gross acreage (107 areas) 53,326,008

H.R. 9070

A bill to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System for the permanent good of the whole people, and for other purposes

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Wilderness Act."

WILDERNESS SYSTEM ESTABLISHED

Statement of policy

SEC. 2. (a) In order to assure that an increasing population, accompanied by expanding settlement and growing mechanization, does not occupy and modify all areas within the United States and its possessions, leaving no lands designated for preservation and protection in their natural condition, it is hereby declared to be the policy of the Congress to secure for the American people of present and future generations the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness. For this purpose there is hereby established a National Wilderness Preservation System to be composed of federally owned areas designated by Congress as "wilderness areas," and these shall be administered for the use and enjoyment of the American people in such manner as will leave them unimpaired for future use and enjoyment as wilderness, and so as to provide for the protection of these

areas, the preservation of their wilderness character, and for the gathering and dissemination of information regarding their use and enjoyment as wilderness; and no Federal lands shall be designated as "wilderness areas" except as provided for in this Act or by a subsequent Act.

Definition of wilderness

(b) A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain. An area of wilderness is further defined to mean in this Act an area of undeveloped Federal land retaining its primeval character and influence, without permanent improvements or human habitation, which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural conditions and which (1) generally appears to have been affected primarily by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man's works substantially unnoticeable; (2) has outstanding opportunities for solitude or a primitive and unconfined type of recreation; (3) has at least five thousand acres of land and is of sufficient size as to make practicable its preservation and use in an unimpaired condition; and (4) may also contain ecological, geological, or other features of scientific, educational, scenic, or historical value. For the purposes of this Act wilderness shall include the areas provided for in this Act and such other areas as shall be designated in accordance with its provisions.

NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM
Extent of system

SEC. 3. (a) All areas within the national forests classified on the effective date of this Act by the Secretary of Agriculture or the Chief of the Forest Service as "wilderness," "wild," or "canoe" are hereby designated as wilderness areas. The Secretary of Agriculture shall—

(1) Within one year after the effective date of the Act, file a map and legal description of each wilderness area with the Interior and Insular Affairs Committees of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, and such descriptions shall have the same force and effect as if included in this Act: *Provided, however,* That correction of clerical and typographical errors in such legal descriptions and maps may be made.

(2) Maintain, available to the public, records pertaining to said wilderness areas, including maps and legal descriptions, copies of regulations governing them, copies of public notices of, and reports submitted to Congress regarding pending additions, eliminations, or modifications. Maps, legal descriptions, and regulations pertaining to wilderness areas within their respective jurisdictions also shall be available to the public in the offices of regional foresters, national forest supervisors, and forest rangers.

(b) In accordance with the time requirements of this subsection, the Secretary of Agriculture shall review each area in the national forests classified on the effective date of this Act by the Secretary of Agriculture or the Chief of the Forest Service as "primitive" as to its suitability for preservation and shall report his findings to the President. Within three years after the enactment of this Act with regard to half of the total number of such areas, and within two additional years with regard to the remaining such areas, the President shall advise the United States Senate and House of Representatives of his recommendations with respect to the designation as "wilderness" or declassification as "primitive" of each area on which review has been completed, together with maps and definition of boundaries: *Provided,* That the President may, as a part of his recommendations, propose alteration of the existing

boundaries, recommending the elimination and declassification as "primitive" of any portions not predominantly of wilderness value, and recommending the addition of any contiguous area of national forest lands predominantly of wilderness value. Each such recommendation of the President shall become effective only if so provided by an Act of Congress, and each such primitive area shall continue to be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture as on the date of this Act until Congress has acted on a recommendation of the President regarding the area, as provided in this subsection, or until Congress has determined otherwise.

(c) In accordance with the time requirements of this subsection the Secretary of the Interior shall review all roadless portions comprising 5,000 or more contiguous acres of parks, monuments, and other units of the National Park System, and such portions of, or roadless islands within, wildlife refuges and game ranges under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior on the effective date of this Act and shall report to the President his recommendations as to the suitability of each such portion for continued preservation as wilderness. Within three years after the enactment of this Act with regard to half the total number of such areas and within two additional years with regard to the remaining such areas, the President shall advise the United States Senate and the House of Representatives of his recommendations with respect to the designation as wilderness of each such portion for which review has been completed, together with maps and definitions of boundaries. Each such recommendation shall become effective only if so provided by an Act of Congress, and each such portion shall continue to be administered by the Secretary of the Interior as roadless until Congress has acted on a recommendation of the President regarding the area, as provided in this subsection, or until Congress has determined otherwise.

(d)(1) The Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior shall, prior to submitting any recommendations to the President with respect to the suitability of any area for preservation as wilderness—

(A) give such public notice of the proposed action as they deem appropriate, including publication in the Federal Register and in a newspaper having general circulation in the area or areas in the vicinity of the affected land;

(B) hold a public hearing or hearings at a location or locations convenient to the area affected. The hearings shall be announced through such means as the respective Secretaries involved deem appropriate, including notices in the Federal Register and in newspapers of general circulation in the area: *Provided,* That if the lands involved are located in more than one State, at least one hearing shall be held in each State in which a portion of the land lies;

(C) at least thirty days before the date of a hearing advise the Governor of each State and the governing board of each county, or in Alaska the borough, in which the lands are located, and Federal Departments and agencies concerned, and invite such officials and Federal agencies to submit their views on the proposed action at the hearing or by no later than thirty days following the date of the hearing.

(d)(2) Any views submitted to the appropriate Secretary under the provisions of (1) of this subsection with respect to any area shall be included with any recommendations to the President and to Congress with respect to such area.

(e) Any modification or adjustment of boundaries of any wilderness area shall be recommended by the appropriate Secretary after public notice of such proposal and public hearing or hearings as provided in sub-

section (d) of this section. The proposed modification or adjustment shall then be recommended with map and description thereof to the President. The President shall advise the United States Senate and the House of Representatives of his recommendations with respect to such modification or adjustment and such recommendations shall become effective only in the same manner as provided for in subsections (b) and (c) of this section.

USE OF WILDERNESS AREAS

SEC. 4. (a) The purposes of this Act are hereby declared to be within and supplemental to the purposes for which national forests and units of the national park and national wildlife refuge systems are established and administered and—

(1) Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to be in interference with the purpose for which national forests are established as set forth in the Act of June 4, 1897 (30 Stat. 11), and the Multiple-Use Sustained-Yield Act of June 12, 1960 (74 Stat. 215).

(2) Nothing in this Act shall modify the restrictions and provisions of the Shipstead-Nolan Act, Public Law 539, Seventy-first Congress, July 10, 1930 (46 Stat. 1020), the Thye-Blatnik Act, Public Law 733, Eightieth Congress, June 22, 1948 (62 Stat. 568), and the Humphrey-Thye-Blatnik-Andersen Act, Public Law 607, Eighty-fourth Congress, June 22, 1956 (70 Stat. 326), as applying to the Superior National Forest or the regulations of the Secretary of Agriculture.

(3) The designation of any area of any park, monument, or other unit of the national park system as a wilderness area pursuant to this Act shall in no manner lower the standards evolved for the use and preservation of such park, monument, or other unit of the national park system in accordance with the Act of August 25, 1916, the statutory authority under which the area was created, or any other Act of Congress which might pertain to or affect such area, including, but not limited to, the Act of June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 225; 16 U.S.C. 432 et seq.); section 3(2) of the Federal Power Act (16 U.S.C. 796(2)); and the Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666; 16 U.S.C. 461 et seq.). All accommodations and installations within any national park or monument shall, furthermore, be incident to the conservation and use and enjoyment of the scenery and the natural and historical objects and flora and fauna of the park or monument in its natural condition.

(b) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, each agency administering any area designated as wilderness shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area and shall so administer such area for such other purposes for which it may have been established as also to preserve its wilderness character. Except as otherwise provided in this Act, wilderness areas shall be devoted to the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservation, and historical use. Subject to the provisions of this Act, all such use shall be in harmony, both in kind and degree, with the wilderness environment and with its preservation.

Prohibition of certain uses

(c) Except as specifically provided for in this Act and subject to any existing private rights, there shall be no commercial enterprise within wilderness areas designated by or in accordance with this Act, no permanent road, nor shall there be any use of motor vehicles, motorized equipment, or motorboats, or landing of aircraft, nor any other mechanical transport or delivery of persons or supplies, nor any temporary road, nor any structure or installation, in excess of the minimum required for the administration of the area for the purposes of this Act, including such measures as may be required

in emergencies involving the health and safety of persons within such areas.

Special provisions

(d) The following special provisions are hereby made:

(1) Within wilderness areas designated by this Act the use of aircraft or motorboats, where these uses have already become established, may be permitted to continue subject to such restrictions as the Secretary of Agriculture or the Secretary of the Interior deems desirable. In addition, such measures may be taken as may be necessary in the control of fire, insects, and diseases, subject to such conditions as the appropriate Secretary deems desirable.

(2) Nothing in this Act shall prevent within national forest wilderness areas any activity, including prospecting, for the purpose of gathering information about mineral or other resources, if such activity is carried on in a manner compatible with the preservation of the wilderness environment. Furthermore, in accordance with such program as the Secretary of the Interior shall develop and conduct in consultation with the Secretary of Agriculture, such areas shall be surveyed on a planned, recurring basis consistent with the concept of wilderness preservation by the Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines to determine the mineral values, if any, that may be present; and the results of such surveys shall be made available to the public and submitted to the President and Congress.

(3) Within wilderness areas in the national forests designated by this Act, (1) the President may, within a specific area and in accordance with such regulations as he may deem desirable, authorize prospecting for water resources, the establishment and maintenance of reservoirs, water-conservation works, power projects, transmission lines, and other facilities needed in the public interest, including the road construction and maintenance essential to development and use thereof, upon his determination that such use or uses in the specific area will better serve the interests of the United States and the people thereof than will its denial; and (2) the grazing of livestock, where established prior to the effective date of this Act, shall be permitted to continue subject to such reasonable regulations as are deemed necessary by the Secretary of Agriculture.

(4) Other provisions of this Act to the contrary notwithstanding, the management of the Boundary Waters Canoe Area, formerly designated as the Superior, Little Indian Sioux, and Caribou roadless areas, in the Superior National Forest, Minnesota, shall be in accordance with regulations established by the Secretary of Agriculture in accordance with the general purpose of maintaining, without unnecessary restrictions on other uses, including that of timber, the primitive character of the area, particularly in the vicinity of lakes, streams, and portages: *Provided*, That nothing in this Act shall preclude the continuance within the area of any already established use of motorboats.

(5) Commercial services may be performed within the wilderness areas designated by this Act to the extent necessary for activities which are proper for realizing the recreational or other wilderness purposes of the areas.

(6) Nothing in this Act shall constitute an express or implied claim or denial on the part of the Federal Government as to exemption from State water laws.

(7) To the extent that it is not incompatible with wilderness preservation, the Secretary of Agriculture shall, in national forest wilderness areas designated by this Act, permit hunting and fishing: *Provided*, That nothing in this Act shall be construed as affecting the jurisdiction or responsibility

ties of the several States with respect to wildlife and fish in wilderness areas.

STATE AND PRIVATE LANDS WITHIN WILDERNESS AREAS

SEC. 5. (a) In any case where State-owned land is completely surrounded by lands designated as wilderness, such State shall be given either (1) such rights as may be necessary to assure adequate access to such State-owned land by such State and its successors in interest, or (2) vacant, unreserved, and unappropriated mineral or nonmineral lands in the same State, not exceeding the value of the surrounded land, in exchange for the surrounded land: *Provided, however*, That the United States shall not transfer to State any mineral interests unless the State relinquishes or causes to be relinquished to the United States the mineral interest in the surrounded land.

(b) In any case where privately owned lands, valid mining claims, or other valid occupancies are wholly within a designated national forest wilderness area, the Secretary of Agriculture shall, by reasonable regulations consistent with the preservation of the area as wilderness, permit ingress and egress to such surrounded areas by means which have been or are being customarily enjoyed with respect to other such areas similarly situated.

(c) Subject to the appropriation of funds by Congress, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior are authorized to acquire privately owned land within the perimeter of any area designated as wilderness if (1) the owner concurs in such acquisition or (2) the acquisition is specifically authorized by Congress.

GIFTS, BEQUESTS, AND CONTRIBUTIONS

SEC. 6 (a) The Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior may accept gifts or bequests of land within or adjacent to wilderness areas under their respective jurisdictions for preservation as wilderness, and such land shall, on acceptance, become part of the wilderness area. Regulations with regard to any such land may be in accordance with such agreements, consistent with the policy of this Act, as are made at the time of such gift, or such conditions, consistent with such policy, as may be included in, and accepted with, such bequest.

(b) The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture are each authorized to accept private contributions and gifts to be used to further the purposes of this Act. Any such contributions or gifts shall, for purposes of Federal income, estate, and gift taxes, be considered a contribution or gift to or for the use of the United States for an exclusively public purpose, and may be deducted as such under the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, subject to all applicable limitations and restrictions contained therein.

ANNUAL REPORTS

SEC. 7. At the opening of each session of Congress, the Secretaries of Agriculture and Interior shall jointly report to the President for transmission to Congress on the status of the wilderness system, including a list and descriptions of the areas in the system, regulations in effect, and other pertinent information, together with any recommendations they may care to make.

STUDY OF FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Montana [Mr. BATTIN] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. BATTIN. Mr. Speaker, the Special Subcommittee on Cuba and Subversion in the Western Hemisphere, ap-

pointed by the House Republican policy committee early this year to make a continuing study of one of our most serious foreign policy problems, has authorized me to issue a comprehensive report.

I have the honor to serve as chairman of this special committee along with the following members: Representative WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida; Representative E. ROSS ADAIR, of Indiana; Representative JOHN M. ASHBROOK, of Ohio; Representative EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, of Illinois; Representative SAMUEL L. DEVINE, of Ohio; Representative DURWARD G. HALL, of Missouri; Representative CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota; and Representative GARNER E. SHRIVER, of Kansas.

This committee has issued four earlier statements. Its present report contains seven policy recommendations which the members of the special committee believe to be essential for the security of this Nation and of our Latin American neighbors.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON CUBA AND SUBVERSION IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

One year has passed since the Cuban missile crisis. At this time 1 year ago the momentary firmness of the Kennedy administration was dissolving as at least some Soviet missiles and medium-range bombers were withdrawn from Cuba. Administration spokesmen unleashed a barrage of propaganda heavy with self-congratulation and the assertion of the "inherent right of government to lie" in time of crisis. And then the administration proceeded to sweep Cuban affairs under the rug.

Now there is a danger that some half-measure such as a reduction of Soviet troop strength in Cuba or the transformation of Castro into a Latin Tito will be accepted by the administration as a satisfactory solution of the Cuban problem.

The aim of the policy of the United States must be nothing less than the establishment of freedom in Cuba. This precludes a Communist regime there.

SOME EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR

While the Kennedy administration has been busy curbing attacks on Castro's Cuba by Cuban exiles, Castro has spent the past year spreading sabotage and destruction throughout Latin America.

In February 1963, Castro's Mig's—which the administration regards as defensive equipment—attacked an unarmed U.S. shrimp boat.

In March, Castro's defensive aircraft fired on the United States ship *The Floridian* as it made its way from San Juan to Miami.

In March, Castro's forces were reported by two eyewitness exiles to have invaded the British island of Cay Sal and to have kidnapped from there eight people.

In August, two patrol boats and a helicopter from Cuba invaded a small island in the British Bahamas and kidnapped 19 hapless Cubans who had sought refuge from Castro's tyranny. Jet fighters of the U.S. Navy and a patrol plane of the Coast Guard hovered overhead for 2 hours as Castro's forces rounded up the refugees,