

SAVING AMERICA'S WILDERNESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous order of the House the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include the full text of the national wilderness reservation bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, on June 11, 1956, I introduced a bill that, when enacted into law, will go a long way toward making sure that we Americans will always have some of our country unspoiled as it was when the Creator made it available to us.

This is H. R. 11703, a bill to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System for the permanent good of the entire populace.

It provides also for the protection and administration of the areas within this System by existing Federal agencies, and for the gathering and dissemination of information to increase the knowledge and appreciation of wilderness for its appropriate use and enjoyment by the people. Furthermore, the bill establishes a National Wilderness Preservation Council that will assist in realizing the purposes of the bill.

This bill is the culmination to date of a long and significant series of developments, and I want to make sure that its provisions and the events that led up to it are understood by all who are concerned with our American conservation programs.

OUR PEOPLE WANT THE WILDERNESS PRESERVED

Mr. Speaker, the people in western Pennsylvania whom I have the privilege of representing in Congress, like those in all other regions of our country, are deeply interested in our American wilderness. They know that it was out of the wilderness that our pioneers developed this country.

My people are proud of this Nation, proud of its great cities, its magnificent stretches of well-traveled highways, the railroads that link us together as a Nation, the marvelous airplanes that span the whole continental sweep of our skies in only a few hours, and proud of the industry and labor that in our American way has made it possible for us to inhabit this continent so comfortably and with such excellent opportunities for enjoying the cultural advantages of modern American civilization.

But, Mr. Speaker, the people of western Pennsylvania, the people of all America, love the land which gave us these advantages and made it possible for us to realize our great freedoms—not only our freedom from fear and want but also those other great freedoms of religion, of the press, of speech that have come to a people so richly endowed with natural resources and thereby blessed with independence.

So wherever there still remain unspoiled areas of our original wilderness we look on the land with special pride,

and we are glad that not all of America has been used up. Some of it is still as God made it, although many of us may have to go a long way to find the unspoiled back country.

We want to know that there will always be these areas of wilderness remaining unspoiled, not only for ourselves but for our children, and their children, on and on into the future.

That is the explanation, Mr. Speaker, of the great protest which arose against the Echo Park Dam when there was an attempt to build it in one of these areas of scenic wild beauty.

In the past four sessions of Congress, I have represented the people of the 22d District of Pennsylvania, and indeed the people of all America, in a strong determination that no such structure should needlessly be placed in any of our sanctuaries of wilderness. Few at first were the voices that I heard in support of this determination, but when the American people understood the issues at stake in the Echo Park controversy, I began to receive letters of encouragement from citizens in all parts of our land, as well as a demand from some of my own constituents for the preservation of Echo Park.

Near the close of the 83d Congress the Speaker of the House told reporters that Congressmen had received more protests against the Echo Park Dam than letters on any other subject, and when the 84th Congress finally passed the Colorado bill, it was without the Echo Park Dam but with a declaration that no dam or reservoir under the Act should be constructed within any national park or monument.

It had been demonstrated that the American people favor the protection of such areas.

Of course, we want these areas, Mr. Speaker. We want them not only as examples of our once unbroken wilderness. We want them because we are an outdoor people. We want to know that there always will be parks and forests and fishing streams and hunting grounds for Americans to enjoy.

We know that such places throughout most of the country are getting fewer and fewer. Places where you can camp beyond the roar of traffic, hike without dodging automobiles, fish without hooking a buddy, or hunt without being afraid of being shot are getting harder and harder to find. And as these privileges become less plentiful, we suddenly realize that we want them very much.

Some of us have been thinking about this very seriously for quite a while now, and we are convinced that we have one good answer in this present bill to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System.

WE NEED THE WILDERNESS

Mr. Speaker, we want the wilderness; we deeply need it in many ways.

We need the physical strength and the stamina that men and women know when they face the wilderness on their own. The frontier—the wilderness—was one of the things which encouraged immigrants to become good Americans and inspired Katherine Lee Bates to call

America herself beautiful for those pioneer—

. . . pilgrim feet,
Whose stern impassioned stress
A thoroughfare for freedom beat
Across the wilderness!

In a century and a half after this Nation was established the whole continental frontier had been mastered. The United States was established from Atlantic to Pacific, and the sons of those hardy pioneers with their inherited strength were transforming America's natural resources into the greatest national prosperity the world has ever known.

This is a century of great prowess for us, Mr. Speaker, and a century of decision too. Shall we, exploiting all our resources, reduce also every last bit of our wilderness to roadsides of easy access and areas of convenience, and ourselves soften into an easy-going people deteriorating in luxury and ripening for the hardy conquerors of another century?

I hope not, Mr. Speaker, and in our preservation of wilderness and our encouragement of the hardy recreation that puts a man or a woman or a red-blooded child on his own in the face of primitive hardships we can help meet this need for maintaining a nation of strong, healthy citizens.

As the magazine Newsweek reported on September 26, 1955, in an article entitled "Are We Becoming Soft?" many of us, including President Dwight D. Eisenhower, are concerned with this question. And as Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, the Director of Selective Service, is there quoted, I too, Mr. Speaker, believe that "we are not inherently a nation of softies, but it's a harder fight for us to stay fit than for a lot of less privileged people."

As General Hershey observes, "Our kids are all right, but autos, innerspring mattresses, and regulated heating make it tougher for us to stay fit." I agree with General Hershey when he says, "We've got to stay vigorous and still enjoy our luxury," and I suggest that our wilderness areas give us our best chance to do this.

The stress and strain of our crowded, fast-moving, highly-mechanized and raucously noisy civilization create another great need for wilderness—a deep need for areas of solitude and quiet, for areas of wilderness where life has not yet given way to machinery.

This is a need for relief for jaded minds and tense nerves, a need for the restoration of peace and the reassurance of sanity. It is a need that for many people can best be met beyond the end of the road, away from the ring of the telephone, where electric lights cannot lengthen the strains of the day, but rather where early sleep rests a man to wake at dawn and know the inspiration of the sunrise as well as the colors of sunset.

Yet it is not only for these physical and mental needs that we seek to preserve the wilderness. It is not only for enjoyment and not only for much-needed relief from the stress and strain of our civilized living that we need the wilderness. We have also a deep and fundamental need.

As The Living Wilderness commented editorially in its Autumn 1955 issue:

Deep down at the base of all our needs for wilderness is a profound, a fundamental need—a need that is not only recreational and spiritual but also educational and scientific, and withal essential to a true understanding of ourselves, our culture, our own natures, and our place in Nature.

This need is for areas of the earth within which we stand without our mechanisms that make us immediate masters over our environment—areas of wild nature in which we sense ourselves to be, what we are, dependent members of an interdependent community of living creatures that together derive their existence from the sun.

In other words, in the wilderness we can get our bearings. We can keep from getting blinded in our great human success to the fact that we are part of the life of this planet, and we would do well to keep our perspectives and keep in touch with some of the basic facts of life.

And so it is that I agree with this editorial in The Living Wilderness:

In addition to our needs for urban and suburban spaces, in addition to the need for a country-side of rural loveliness, a landscape of beauty for our living, and in addition to the needs for parkways and well-developed areas for all kinds of outdoor recreation—IN ADDITION to all these—there is in our planning a need also to secure the preservation of some areas that are so managed as to be left unmanaged—areas that are undeveloped by man's mechanical tools and in every way unmodified by his civilization. These are the areas of wilderness that still live on in our national parks, national forests, State parks and forests, and indeed in various other categories of land likewise.

WE STILL HAVE WILDERNESS

Mr. Speaker, that leads me on to a third point: We want wilderness; we deeply need the wilderness; and fortunately we have the wilderness, still in our possession, still living.

It is easy for some of us to regret the passing of the frontier and the development of so much of our wild country—especially in our eastern and central States where we have realized too late the value of saving areas of wilderness.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, we must appreciate the fact that after so many centuries of our civilization on this continent we do have still remaining so many and such extensive areas of wilderness, and so many of them in public ownership.

It is true that much of the country that is still wilderness may not be subject to preservation because it is in private ownership or is already included in some program that calls for its development. But the notable fact is that after centuries of civilized exploitation America does still have many large areas of its original wilderness that may still be preserved—if action is prompt and definite.

These are the areas that are in public ownership and are already devoted to preservation as wilderness or devoted to a purpose that is consistent with wilderness preservation. These areas constitute our wilderness resource, a resource still great enough to be worth serious efforts to preserve it.

Some of this wilderness resource is in State ownership. I commend the States that have taken steps for its preserva-

tion. I am sorry that in my own State of Pennsylvania the movement for preservation did not become effective while there still were large undeveloped stands of Penn's woodland. In our Cook Forest State Park not far from my home there are still a few acres of the virgin white pine that once grew tall over many, many acres of Pennsylvania. We prize this State park deeply for its virgin forest.

In New York State the State constitution maintains "forever wild" great stretches of wilderness in the Adirondack and Catskill forest preserves, a total of almost 2½ million acres—2,204,756 acres in the Adirondacks, 234,414 acres in the Catskills.

Maine has the historic Mount Katahdin wilderness in its 193,254-acre Baxter State Park.

Michigan has a wilderness in its Porcupine Mountains State Park, 57,366 acres in the upper peninsula.

California has close to half a million acres in wilderness stretches within a half dozen of its State parks.

Other States also have some areas which still preserve wilderness conditions—South Dakota with Custer State Park, for example, and Minnesota with Itasca State Park, Wisconsin with its Flambeau River State Forest.

All in all there are some 3 million acres of wilderness preserved and subject to continued preservation in a dozen or more areas under State jurisdiction.

All of us throughout the United States who are interested in the outdoors appreciate this. We congratulate the States for their success in saving their wilderness. We wish them continued success.

By far the major portion of our wilderness resource is, however, within areas of public land owned or controlled by our Federal Government.

Within our national forests there are 79 areas that have been designated by the Forest Service for preservation as wilderness. Forty-nine of the units of our national park system have within them unspoiled areas that are large enough to be called wilderness. At least 20 of our national wildlife refuges and ranges include such areas. Indian reservations contain 15 areas that have been classified as roadless or wild areas.

These 163 federally owned or controlled areas include some 55 million acres of wilderness.

That brings to about 58 million acres our total wilderness resource still available in some 175 Federal and State parks, forests, refuges, ranges, or reservations.

We still have wilderness.

Mr. Speaker, the United States of America includes a total area of some 2¼ billion acres. Our civilization being what it is, I consider it fortunate indeed that within these 2¼ billion acres there are some 58 million acres still unspoiled as wilderness, protected in public ownership, within areas where the present public purposes are consistent with wilderness preservation. A great opportunity still exists to save this wilderness resource, and, Mr. Speaker, we cannot here escape the fact that what is done with this opportunity depends now upon the Congress and the people of the United

States. Out of our total wilderness resource of some 58 million acres in about 175 areas, this Federal Government, Mr. Speaker, is responsible for 163 of the areas with about 55 million acres of the total.

We still have wilderness. We still have a magnificent opportunity for its preservation, in perpetuity. And with this resource and this opportunity we also have a tremendous responsibility.

OUR WILDERNESS PRESERVATION HISTORY

The fact that we do now have this still-living wilderness resource within publicly owned areas that are already protected in one way or another is not an accident of history, and before pointing out the conditions that make necessary a National Wilderness Preservation Act I think it would be helpful and inspiring here and now to pay our respects to the great tradition of preservation that American conservationists have so soundly established.

So far as I know the first one to write a plea for wilderness preservation was Henry David Thoreau.

Thoreau, whose world-classic volume called Walden had its setting in the wild lands around Concord, Mass., urged in that volume: "We need the tonic of wildness."

That book was published more than a century ago, in 1854. Four years later, in 1858, Thoreau wrote in the Atlantic Monthly about a trip he had made to the wilderness of northern Maine in 1853, and he ended this article with an earnest plea for preservation. In 1864 this article was included in Thoreau's posthumous volume entitled The Maine Woods.

"The kings of England formerly had their forests 'to hold the king's game,'" Thoreau remarked. "I think they were impelled by a true instinct," he commented. And then he asked:

Why should not we, who have renounced the king's authority, have our national preserves—in which the bear and panther, and some even of the hunter race, may still exist, and not be 'civilized off the face of the earth,' our forests, not to hold the king's game merely, but to hold and preserve the king himself also, the lord of creation—not for idle sport or food, but for inspiration and our own true recreation?

A generation later the enthusiastic surveys of the young Verplanck Colvin in New York's Adirondack Mountains, in the 1870's, led to the adoption before the end of the century of an article in the State constitution providing for the preservation of the State forest preserve "forever wild."

In the meantime the great American institution called "parks" had been founded. In 1858, the same year when Thoreau's plea for preserves was published in the Atlantic Monthly, Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., recommended his now famous plan for Central Park in New York City, urging that the park development interfere as little as possible with the "easy, undulating outlines and picturesque rocky scenery."

In 1864 President Abraham Lincoln approved an Act giving the Yosemite Valley to the State of California with the understanding that it be "held for public use, resort, and recreation."

On March 1, 1872, President Ulysses S. Grant signed the Act that established our first national park, Yellowstone, "dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people."

Fifteen years later New York established its first State park at Niagara Falls. In that same year, 1885, Michigan acquired Mackinac Island for State park purposes and Minnesota established three parks including the source of the Mississippi River in Itasca State Park.

Perhaps the parks were conceived not so much as means for preserving wilderness as for preserving and insuring public access to our outstanding scenic wonders. In fact, development of roads and accommodations for visitors—developments that necessarily sacrifice wilderness—were an early and continuing requirement for the parks. Our outstanding, superb, unique features of scenic splendor were to be made readily accessible to everyone—and rightly so.

Nevertheless, there developed also the ideal of keeping developments to the minimum.

When President Theodore Roosevelt was at the Grand Canyon of the Colorado in Arizona in 1903 he even objected to "a building of any kind."

This great American, this recognized founder of the conservation movement, thus made one of the strictest pleas ever made for preserving an area untouched. Here is what he said:

In the Grand Canyon, Arizona has a natural wonder which, so far as I know, is in kind absolutely unparalleled throughout the rest of the world. I want to ask you to do one thing in connection with it in your own interest and in the interest of the country—to keep this great wonder of nature as it is. I hope you will not have a building of any kind, not a summer cottage, a hotel, or anything else, to mar the wonderful grandeur, the sublimity, the great loveliness and beauty of the canyon. You cannot improve it. The ages have been at work on it, and man can only mar it.

John Muir, who wrote so eloquently of the parks "with a view to inciting people to come and enjoy them," inspired his companions and readers with the sense of a wilderness experience that was more than curiosity or wonder at the spectacular.

Stephen Mather likewise saw the national parks as sanctuaries of wilderness as well as protectors of superb spectacles. The thought of national parks as scenes for what Thoreau had called "our own true recreation" grew in men's minds.

There grew the understanding that national parks not only preserved the great spectacles of nature for public enjoyment but also that they kept significantly large areas "in their natural condition," as the Yellowstone Act had required.

In 1913 this concept was challenged. Congress authorized construction of a dam in one of the national parks—Hetch Hetchy in Yosemite. The end result, however, was an affirmation.

The idea of park spoliation so aroused the public that Congress in 1916, in establishing a National Park Service, charged the new agency to handle the parks so as "to provide for the enjoyment of the

same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

Wilderness preservation became a national park purpose.

Recognition of national forests as well as national parks as reservoirs of wilderness came later, but when it came it brought with it a more deliberate interest in wilderness as such—not as spectacle but as unspoiled stretches of the natural world.

Sigurd F. Olson, president of the National Parks Association, has described our wilderness areas as "museum pieces of primitive America." "Wilderness preservation," he says, "is far more than the setting aside of recreational areas." Olaus J. Murie, president of The Wilderness Society, pondering the meaning of our primeval areas, asks himself:

What if a generation comes along that does not know about original country, no longer experiences the yearnings for wild country, for deep primeval forests, wilderness canoe country, high mountains, the wide expanse of desert? What if we lose the urge to want things that mean a personally active, virile way of life? What if we lose touch entirely with the so-called environment of nature, where we had our origin?

Such are the concepts of the values of the wilderness being preserved as a part of our present programs.

This wilderness preservation movement that developed with concern for areas within the national forests, though led and sustained by a number of individuals, was most deeply influenced by Robert Marshall and Aldo Leopold.

Early in the 1920's Aldo Leopold emphasized in magazine articles and in influential discussions the importance of the wilderness that was so fast disappearing. In 1924 he was instrumental in having designated for preservation as wilderness the first such area set aside in a national forest, the Gila Wilderness Area in New Mexico. As he reflected on the values of such areas he urged more and more the importance that has come to be known as ecological.

By the 1930's a national forest policy for preserving wilderness had emerged. The great wilderness interpreter, exponent, and champion—Robert Marshall had written his now classic *The Problem of the Wilderness*, published in the January 1930 *Scientific Monthly*, and he had also achieved effective positions on the staffs first of the Indian Service and then the Forest Service. He had learned wilderness in the "forever wild" Adirondacks, where with his brother George and their companion Herb Clark he was first to climb all 46 of the peaks 4,000 feet high or higher, and he had seen also the great western areas of living wilderness "melting away," as he described it, "like the last snowbank on some south-facing mountainside during a hot afternoon in June." He not only was instrumental in having roadless and wild areas designated on Indian Reservations and in seeing many additional primitive areas set aside in the national forests but he also contributed creatively to the development of policies and the formulation of regulations to govern the protection and administration of the areas. With the declaration that "there is just one hope

of repulsing the tyrannical ambition of civilization to conquer every niche on the whole earth . . . the organization of spirited people who will fight for the freedom of the wilderness," he also inspired the organization of and became a founder of The Wilderness Society.

To Robert Marshall and to Aldo Leopold we owe much of our present opportunity to see wilderness perpetuated in America.

To the pioneers in establishing sanctuaries for birds and other wildlife we also owe a debt for our present wilderness preservation opportunity.

The legislators who enacted the Migratory Conservation Act of 1929 established a basic national wildlife refuge policy. The refuge system was greatly enlarged under the dynamic leadership of J. N. "Ding" Darling and under his effective successor, Ira N. Gabrielson, and the policies of preserving within the refuges the areas of wilderness that they include have been continuously developed by J. Clark Salyer, refuge division head, who has served under Darling, Gabrielson, and each of their successors, as head of the Fish and Wildlife Service.

To these men and to many other wildlife conservationists we owe not only a debt for the preservation of particular wilderness areas within refuges but also an appreciation for their insistence that an America with an abundant wildlife is the America that should be preserved.

It has been the philosophy of these conservationists that the preservation of wildlife, parks, wilderness, and other unspoiled natural resources is thoroughly consistent with economic and cultural prosperity.

As Harvey Broome, who with Robert Marshall and Aldo Leopold was among the founders of The Wilderness Society, said in 1953 at the dedication of the Gila Wilderness Area memorial to Aldo Leopold:

Ours is the first great nation in history to be possessed of both the knowledge and means to bring about within its borders a state of permanent and harmonious coexistence with the land.

Wilderness—

Mr. Broome concluded—

must be the cornerstone of such a world. For there—are the grizzlies, the coyotes, and the deer; there—are the lions and the chickadees; there—the forests and the waters, the fish and the insects; there—the humus and the soil, the prairie and marsh grasses, the flora above the earth and the microflora in the earth—all living and existing in balance, in beauty and harmony. There, in the unspoiled remnants of the wild earth, spotted across our continent—man will find the basis of understanding. Then, wilderness will influence civilization, and civilization will cease to alter and destroy wilderness. Then, indeed, will Thoreau's lord of creation walk as a member—and not as a fumbling outsider—in the community of living things.

Such, Mr. Speaker, is the tradition of preservation that American conservationists have established, the tradition that we must maintain as we face the responsibility that is ours, with the opportunity that is ours for preserving the wilderness that we still have, still need, still want very much.

THE NEED FOR LEGISLATION

As we go forward in this tradition of preservation, we have a great and compelling need for basic national legislation.

We have seen that there are some 55 million acres of still living wilderness in Federal ownership or control within areas with established purposes that are consistent with wilderness preservation.

This wilderness resource is within 163 separate areas, each of which is a part of a national forest, park, refuge, range, or other reservation where preserving wilderness is a perfectly appropriate present use of the land.

As long as these parks, forests, refuges, and other reservations have been in existence these areas of wilderness have been preserved. If we will it so, and act effectively, they can be so preserved in perpetuity, and this can be accomplished without sacrificing any existing purpose on any of these lands.

Yet the fact is there are at present no laws of Congress that protect these areas of wilderness as wilderness. We thus have a primary need for such legislation.

In the face of our increasing populations and the growing mechanization of so much of our activity, our only democratic hope for success in preserving our wilderness resource is in our policy of deliberately setting aside such areas for preservation and then maintaining the integrity of our designation.

We cannot expect the accidents of history to leave our remaining wilderness untouched. We cannot expect the coincidents of other purposes to continue the good fortunes of incidental preservation.

The wilderness that we wish to preserve we must deliberately so designate, and with regard to such areas we must have a specific well-defined purpose.

A basic assumption in our wilderness preservation program is thus the understanding that our civilization is such that no areas will persist unexploited or undeveloped except those that are deliberately set aside and faithfully protected. If they are to be unused for other purposes, we must use them as wilderness.

A parallel assumption in our wilderness preservation program is based on our confidence that our land and water resources are great and varied enough that we can have an adequate system of wilderness areas without sacrificing other advantages.

We are confident that we can get the timber and minerals we need outside our relatively few areas of wilderness to be preserved. The needed sites for dams and reservoirs, the roads and landing fields for our mechanical travel in the great outdoors, places for recreation with the conveniences and facilities we so well contrive—all these can be located outside our wildernesses that we wish to preserve.

In other words, we are confident that without sacrificing our wilderness preservation hopes we can realize all the benefits that we want from a developed country. Wilderness preservation is consistent with our other national purposes.

As Newton B. Drury, a former Director of the National Park Service, said of our

national parks, "Surely, we are not so poor that we need to destroy them, or so rich that we can afford to lose them."

A basic need thus in our wilderness preservation program is the designation of areas of wilderness for preservation as wilderness. This we have not yet done in any law of Congress.

WILDERNESS IN THE NATIONAL PARKS

Even in the national parks and monuments, the pressures for roads and non-wilderness recreational and tourist developments threaten in many places to destroy the primeval back-country wilderness.

Within the national parks and monuments in general there is at present no act of Congress that would prevent a future Secretary of the Interior, or park administrator with his approval, from deciding to construct a road, a building, or any other installation that he would deem appropriate for a national park or monument anywhere within the park or monument.

The Yellowstone Act that inaugurated our national parks in 1872 provided for the retention of the wonders there "... in their natural condition," and yet that Act has, of course, not interfered with the construction of the Yellowstone Park system of roads, the many buildings that are there, and the other developments that have so altered "natural conditions" that the atmosphere in some parts of the park is that of a crowded city.

Mr. Speaker, I do not object to these developments in Yellowstone National Park. I have indeed used them with appreciation. I am merely pointing out that they have been constructed in accordance with the laws under which the park is governed, and there is nothing in that law to prevent such construction elsewhere in the park.

There are other parks—Isle Royale and Everglades, for example—where wilderness preservation is perhaps more specifically a park purpose, but in general in none of them is there a limit to the possible penetration of the primeval back country with developments that would destroy the wilderness as such.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion if we are to make sure that we still have in the distant future our national park primeval back country still preserved as wilderness, we should declare here in Congress our purpose to do so.

In Mission 66 we are doing our best to provide for the development of adequate facilities and accommodations for the increasingly numerous visitors to the parks. I heartily endorse and support this development program. I yield to no one as a friend of the national parks and the National Park Service. I shall continue to invite every constituent in my district and their fellow Americans everywhere to lose no opportunity to visit their national parks and monuments, and I shall lose no opportunity to help see that these visitors are properly accommodated.

At the same time I sense a need also to strengthen the hands of the National Park Service in its work for the preservation of the primeval back country as wilderness.

I have been impressed, Mr. Speaker, with the findings of a scientist who

made a study of our wilderness programs as a part of his doctoral study at the University of Michigan. Speaking on October 26, 1954, at the Milwaukee, Wis., convention of the Society of American Foresters, this scientist, Dr. James P. Gilligan, who is now assistant professor of forestry at the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, spoke as follows about existing wilderness-preservation prospects in our National Park System. He said:

Wilderness conditions, of course, have vanished from developed areas; and the sight, sound, and sometimes smell of these concentration zones disperse so widely that quite large sections cannot be considered natural, let alone wilderness. National parks, too, must often justify their existence to the locality or State in which they are situated principally on economic grounds. As long as the drums throb for more tourist dollars, park administrators will find it hard to accommodate the increasing army of sightseers without extending development. It is highly improbable that a seemingly logical course of restricting visitation to any national park will be put into effect until every possible means of providing accommodations is exhausted. It is a fair question to ask how much of the parks will be developed by then.

Because of congressional measures which ordinarily prevent utilization of wood, water, mineral, or forage resources in areas of the National Park System, the National Park Service is the most logical existing agency to preserve extensive wilderness regions. However, it is subject to the unrelenting pressures of mass use, and retreats gradually behind the cold logic that more areas must be developed to care properly for the public to whom the land belongs. It is merely another application of the philosophy that as many people as possible should use these areas, even though finally there is little left of the original landscape.

Americans will continue to saturate choice recreation sites opened to motorized entry, and then complain because everyone else is also present.

The real democratic significance of these areas may not be in providing access and accommodations to everyone, but in holding a few undeveloped areas where high quality recreation benefits can still be obtained by those willing to make the effort. Most endeavors to retain such areas for a relatively small number gradually yield before the demands of an eager traveling public, which has not yet grasped the full significance of our National Park System.

The organic National Park Service Act of 1916 offers nearly as much flexibility in managing recreation resources as does the multiple use principle of the Forest Service. There is nothing in the act directing how much of, or what part of, parks to develop, nor is there any clause in the law or interpretive regulations stipulating the reservation of park units in wilderness condition.

The National Park Service has established some precedence in trying to retain wilderness zones. It is questionable, however, whether the will of the administrator can be sufficiently strong to prevent development in the long run.

Mr. Speaker, we must meet this situation by providing here in Congress the basic legislation that these excellent administrators need to insure their success in making our national parks secure as our great reservoirs of wilderness.

WILDERNESS IN THE NATIONAL FORESTS

The administrators of the superlatively valuable wilderness, wild, primitive, and roadless areas in the national forests have not only to contend with recreational pressures that in some in-

stances challenge wilderness preservation. They also must look forward through the years of the future to many local pressures to cut the wilderness forests for timber, dam the wilderness streams for water storage and power, prospect for minerals, and in various ways use the commodities of the national forests.

Wilderness preservation is a national forest purpose that has developed within the United States Forest Service itself. A remarkably effective program has now been developed, a program that has meant the designation of 79 areas for protection as wilderness.

Yet these areas have all been set up administratively. A future Secretary of Agriculture could abolish or seriously reduce them.

This excellent Forest Service program needs the endorsement that congressional recognition can bring, and the security of the national forest wildernesses requires it also.

THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL POLICY

Wilderness within the national wildlife refuges is in a precarious position because the refuges themselves lack adequate legal protection against pressures for commercial or exploitative encroachments.

In fact, none of our Federal wilderness has the protection that Congress could give by providing for wilderness preservation as a national policy applied to a definite system of areas.

It is accordingly the first purpose of the National Wilderness Preservation Bill to establish firmly a clear-cut national policy for preserving, for both the present and the future, some of what remains of our resource of wilderness.

In line with such a policy the Congress in this proposed measure will give its sanction to the policies and programs of the Forest Service, the National Park Service, and our other Federal conservation agencies under whose wise administration our great resource of wilderness has so far been preserved.

Finally, this measure proposes a way whereby this policy and this sanction can take effect in a practical program.

Of central importance in this program is the establishment of what is to be called our National Wilderness Preservation System, to be made up of areas of primeval America that are still wilderness and in Federal ownership or control and capable of being kept that way without interfering with other present purposes now being served by these lands.

I hasten to emphasize that this will not involve any acquisition of wilderness areas by the Federal Government. Nor will it mean any transfer of areas from one agency of government to another, nor any change of jurisdiction. No new land-administering agency will be created.

The fact should be emphasized that this National Wilderness Preservation System will be made up of areas that are already in Federal ownership or control and are already within parks, forests, refuges, or reservations.

Furthermore, it must also be stressed, reiterated for clear understanding, that

the areas within this proposed system are areas where wilderness conditions have so far been preserved while, at the same time, the various purposes have been realized for which these parks, forests, refuges, and reservations were established.

It is our purpose that this preservation continue and be made secure for the future. The establishment of the National Wilderness Preservation System will be a recognition of this purpose, a recognition of the importance of continuing to preserve the wilderness character of these selected areas.

This selection, this recognition, will give each of these areas its place in the system. Each such area will remain, as at present, park, forest, or refuge, as it is now administered. It will continue to serve the multiple purposes it now serves and under the jurisdiction of the same agency that now protects it.

The difference will lie in the fact that from now on the agency having jurisdiction over any area within this System will have the sanction and encouragement of Congress and the legal responsibility for preserving the area's wilderness character. It will have the responsibility for seeing that other purposes continue to be served in such a way as to prevent damage to the wilderness.

Each such area will thus come under special protection as part of the Nation's still unspoiled heritage of the primeval.

A WILDERNESS COUNCIL

In order to provide a focus for the wilderness interest in these diverse areas, there will be established by this measure a National Wilderness Preservation Council.

It is interesting to note that our word "focus" comes from a Latin name for a fireplace, a hearth. The agencies that administer the areas in our wilderness system have various purposes and many interests. Their concerns with wilderness may represent only one phase of multiple purposes. Our proposed wilderness council, therefore, will provide a center for all these various interests, interests in the many wilderness values of different kinds of areas.

The Council will not have any administrative jurisdiction whatever over any of these areas, nor over any of the agencies that do have such jurisdiction. It will provide a repository for the files that pertain to the National Wilderness Preservation System and will serve as a gatherer and disseminator of information regarding wilderness preservation and use. It will make an annual report to Congress. It will be made up of representative legislators, administrators, and citizens all concerned with wilderness preservation. The Council will thus represent our special and distinctive national interest in our wilderness resource.

In administering national park areas of wilderness the National Park Service will continue to think of their administration for the recreational use and enjoyment of the people. In administering national forest areas the Forest Service will continue to be concerned with the multiple-purpose program it now operates with prime concern for the protection of watersheds and preservation of

forests. The Fish and Wildlife Service will continue to administer the areas of wilderness within its jurisdiction as areas for wildlife, areas that may have no legitimate use at all for the kind of recreation that is the principal activity in a national park, for example.

The various units of the National Wilderness Preservation System, though protected as wilderness, will thus be managed for various purposes.

Within the National Wilderness Preservation Council, the heads of the various administering agencies, the ranking members of the Senate and House committees concerned, and representative citizens, will bring to a wilderness preservation focus all these various and appropriate interests.

A MULTIPLE-PURPOSE PROGRAM

Besides giving expression to a national policy, providing for the establishment of a wilderness preservation system, and creating a National Wilderness Preservation Council, this bill also describes and provides for the proper use of the areas of wilderness it is designed to preserve.

In this connection, I should like to emphasize at once that this proposal is not one for any "special-use" or "special-privilege" legislation.

The first and topic sentence of the section of this bill that relates to uses of the areas within this System expresses a key concept in this proposal. It states firmly that "nothing in this Act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose stated in the establishment of any national park or monument, national wildlife refuge, Indian reservation, or other Federal land area involved, except that any agency administering any area within the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area."

Under this proposal, for example, the parts of the national forests involved would continue under the same kind of administration they now have. Grazing permits, for instance, could be continued as at present. The basic multiple purposes of the national forests would be maintained. These purposes are defined as watershed protection and forest preservation. Giving these areas a permanence as wilderness will thus not interfere with the multiple purposes they now serve but will actually help to realize the dominant use of the national forests for water conservation.

National parks, national wildlife refuges, and any other areas would also, as already pointed out, continue to serve their own distinctive purposes.

No use privileges of any kind will be created by this proposed law. The only added responsibility of each administering agency will be to see that the areas in the System under its jurisdiction remain wilderness—as they now are.

I reiterate that this bill deals only with preserving wilderness as such in connection with various other land uses and does not create any "special privilege" nor provide for any special users.

Existing uses and privileges are respected in this bill, and private rights are protected. It is true that no mining

or prospecting will be permitted except where it is already in existence and represents a private right. Otherwise (or even so) this is not essentially a reform measure but rather a measure to insure the preservation of a status quo which fortunately includes a great resource of wilderness.

THE BILL DESCRIBED

Mr. Speaker, our purpose in this measure is essentially a simple purpose; namely, to provide for the continued preservation of the areas of wilderness that we now have and at the same time avoid a disturbance of the status quo as regards the administration of these areas. As it happens, the status quo is somewhat varied and may even appear complicated. Consequently the wilderness preservation bill itself may seem to be complicated. I trust, however, that it will not be so considered but that it will be recognized as essentially simple both in purpose and method.

The bill comprises 5 sections, which may be described as follows:

The opening section defines the term "wilderness" both in the abstract and as used specifically in this bill and, recognizing the hazards to wilderness in the midst of our civilization, declares it to be a desirable policy for our health, welfare, and happiness to preserve wilderness as an enduring resource for the benefit of present and future generations.

Accordingly the continued preservation of Federally owned areas of wilderness is given congressional sanction and a National Wilderness Preservation System is established to "serve the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservational, and historical use and enjoyment by the people."

Section 2 names the areas that will constitute this System and makes provisions regarding additions, modifications, or eliminations. It takes cognizance also of the fact, that within certain of the units of this System there are needs for designating portions of the areas to be used for roads and certain other installations that are exceptions within wilderness. Section 2 comprises 6 subsections.

AREAS IN THE NATIONAL FORESTS

Subsection (a) designates 27 areas within the national forests to become units of the National Wilderness Preservation System.

These are not entire national forests; they are special areas inside the forests. The Forest Service has found them to have highest value as wilderness. Three of these areas are named "roadless," 14 are "wild areas," and 10 are called "wilderness." In addition there are 52 areas now classified as "primitive" that are earmarked to be included in this System when the Forest Service has carried out its plans to reclassify them as either "wilderness" or "wild" areas. A 10-year period is provided for this reclassification program.

Including all these primitive areas which are to be added eventually, this System will have within it special areas within some 80 of the 149 national forests.

Out of the 181 million acres in our national forests some 14 million acres will be in this System. Practically as at present, the administration of the national forest areas will be in accordance with regulations by the Secretary of Agriculture. This bill, either in section 2 or in section 3, makes provisions that in effect give sanction to and continue the present regulations that have been so ably developed by the Forest Service for the sound administration and protection of wilderness.

An additional safeguard against an undesirable elimination of any wilderness is provided in that, after completing the process for such action as now provided by Department regulations, such proposed action will have to be reported to Congress where for 120 days it is subject to disapproval.

Additional areas may be designated by the Secretary of Agriculture, and such additions must also be reported to Congress and for 120 days be subject to scrutiny by either the Senate or the House of Representatives.

NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM AREAS

Subsection (b) of section 2 designates 49 out of the 181 areas in the National Park System as units of the National Wilderness Preservation System, 26 of which are national parks, 21 are monuments, 1 is a recreational area, and 1 is a memorial park.

Our national parks and many of our national monuments include within them our superbly beautiful pristine areas of wilderness. The chief threats to their preservation as such, under our present legislation, come from prospects for the extension of roads and the intrusion of recreation developments perfectly good in themselves that nevertheless are out of place in wilderness.

Unless provision is made to protect the primeval within the parks, eventually the developments may take over.

This process may be gradual, but nevertheless it is a prospect against which we can now set guards with no sacrifice.

There are other places for the development of our recreation facilities that require roads and other conveniences. Our parks are reservoirs of wilderness.

It is true, however, that certain portions of the parks must be used for the roads and accommodations that make them accessible and hospitable. Accordingly this bill provides for the designation of such portions for this purpose. A 10-year period is provided for the several designations, and the provisions of this law will not take effect for any park or monument until the designations have been made.

The National Park Service, under its Mission 66, is undertaking to provide systematically during the next 10 years for the proper and economical development of the roads and accommodations within the parks and monuments.

The designations of the areas provided for in this bill can thus be made, park by park, as the plans for Mission 66 materialize.

Provision will in this way be made for the proper handling of developed areas and also for the protection, without de-

velopment, of our wilderness in the back country.

If ever additional areas are needed for developments, they can be designated, but only after a public notice that will give all concerned an opportunity to weigh the importance of diminishing the area of wilderness.

In any case wilderness preservation becomes a congressional policy in the specified national parks and monuments. The primeval back country receives an added protection. At the same time this bill takes care to point out that within the areas designated for developments the present protection afforded by the National Park Act of 1916 is not affected.

Additions of national parks and national monuments to the wilderness system could be made by the Congress or the President. Only Congress could remove a park or monument from the system.

WILDLIFE REFUGES AND RANGES

Subsection (c) of section 2 designates 13 national wildlife refuges and 7 ranges as parts of this system.

As with National Park System areas, provision is here made for designation by the Secretary of the Interior of areas that are required for roads and installations inconsistent with wilderness. In this instance these are required for administration of the refuge or range for wildlife.

Refuges or ranges could be added to the System by the Secretary of the Interior, subject to congressional disapproval within 120 days. Only Congress could remove a refuge or range from the system.

THE INDIANS' WILDERNESS

Subsection (d) of section 2 designates 12 roadless areas and 3 wild areas within Indian reservations as possible units in the National Wilderness Preservation System, but no such area will actually become a part of the system unless its inclusion is approved by the Indians. The consent of the Indians is also required by the regulations by the Secretary of the Interior that are to govern the administration, addition, modification, or elimination of areas.

This subsection is thus so drawn as to give the Indians the privilege of having included in this system their areas that have been classified as roadless or wild, but the principle of doing nothing with regard to Indian lands without Indian consent has been observed. Care is taken also to say that no Indian treaty is abrogated nor any hunting or fishing rights affected.

OTHER AREAS

Subsection (e) of section 2 recognizes that Congress may designate additional areas within the wilderness system. It also provides for the designation of such areas within any Federally owned or controlled areas by appropriate officials.

Subsection (f) of section 2 provides for reports to Congress of certain additions, modifications, or eliminations, and it also authorizes the acquisition of any privately owned lands within units of this System.

Throughout section 2 provisions are made for reports to be made to the Na-

tional Wilderness Preservation Council that will be established by section 4 and will be the repository for files pertaining to this System.

USE OF THE WILDERNESS

Section 3 specifies the proper uses of areas within the System and the practices that are to be excluded. It includes special provisions with regard to existing "nonconforming uses" of areas of wilderness included in the System.

At the outset this section says that nothing shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose for which any of the lands involved were set aside, except that "the wilderness character of the area" is to be preserved.

This concern, it may be noted, is not with any special use or user but with the character of the area. Hunting, for example, will continue to be a major recreation within many national forest units of the system and will be prohibited in national parks. Where there is hunting, it will be wilderness hunting.

Uses will thus continue to vary in the various kinds of lands involved. The common concern is that wilderness conditions shall persist whatever the uses.

The System will be devoted to public purposes that are summarized as recreational, educational, scenic, scientific, conservation, and historical. All use will be in harmony with the wilderness environment and its preservation.

Special provision is made for the protection of existing rights and privileges on any areas involved. Grazing within the national forest areas is provided for as at present, and existing uses authorized or provided for in refuges are also permitted. The termination of nonconforming uses is provided for whenever this is agreeable to those making the uses.

With one main exception this bill thus proposes not reform but such security for what we have so far preserved as can be achieved without disrupting our present administrative and other practices.

The exception has to do with mining. It relates primarily to the areas within the national forests.

Spokesmen for the United States Forest Service as well as other conservationists have long and insistently warned that a prime threat to the preservation of wilderness within the national forests comes from the prospect of mining. After careful thought it seems unwise to propose wilderness legislation that does not deal with this threat in these national forest areas.

Accordingly this bill provides that there shall be no mining—although, of course, existing private rights are protected in this case as in all others.

A WILDERNESS PRESERVATION COUNCIL

Section 4 will create a National Wilderness Preservation Council to serve as a focus for the various interests in wilderness represented in the System, to provide an information clearing house and a headquarters for the records relating to the System as such, and to provide a medium through which information regarding wilderness and its

use and preservation may be gathered and made available.

The Council will have no administrative jurisdiction over the areas of wilderness within the System, nor over any of the agencies that will continue to have such jurisdiction. The Council will not even have any coordinating responsibilities with regard to the administration of these areas. It will comprise legislators, administrators, and citizens and will represent our special and distinctive interest in our wilderness resource as wilderness and will make annual reports to Congress regarding the System.

The legislators on the Council, four in number, will be the chairman and ranking minority members of the respective Interior and Insular Affairs Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives.

The administrators will be the heads of bureaus that administer areas within the system—Forest Service, National Park Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Indian Affairs Bureau—and also the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Six citizen members will complete the 15-member Council.

The secretary of the Smithsonian Institution will be the secretary of the Council and will maintain its files and provide its headquarters.

This arrangement will help make clear that the Council is not responsible for any area or agency administration. Involved with no land areas within the System, the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution will not be concerned with any inter-agency administrative problems regarding such areas.

Selection of this official as secretary of the Council further emphasizes the function of the Council as an information focus and a repository of records. It likewise will serve to bring to attention the scientific interest in wilderness preservation and values of wilderness areas as living museums.

Section 4 provides that the members of the Council shall serve in this capacity without compensation but receive transportation expenses and a per diem for attendance at meetings of the Council. Provision is made for the expenses of the Council.

Section 5 specifies a name—"National Wilderness Preservation Act."

THE BILL ITSELF

Mr. Speaker, this is a far-reaching, carefully studied proposal. It will be of long-time lasting importance to the American people. I solicit your detailed consideration. I also particularly urge the administrators of the lands involved to give it their sympathetic constructive attention, and I trust that the Smithsonian Institution will realize the educational and scientific importance of the role which it can play.

In conclusion, let me say again that the preservation of some of our great stretches of wilderness is a fundamental part of our American character.

We are a great people because we have been so successful in developing and using our marvelous natural resources, but, also, we Americans are the people we are

largely because we have had the influence of the wilderness on our lives.

We owe much of our health and our spirit of adventure and self-reliance to the nearness of the outdoors and, in great measure, to the way in which, in our youth—and youth lasts long for many of us—we have ventured into the wilderness.

We must, of course, continue our development of resource uses. We must continue to provide outdoor recreation with conveniences for everybody in picnic places and parks of many kinds. But we must also continue to see that some of our land is preserved as nearly as possible untouched by any kind of civilized development.

Our great engineering and development programs should, indeed, be part of an overall national policy that likewise includes the preservation of some of our land as God made it.

As our population becomes greater, as industrial and other pressures close around the areas of wilderness still remaining, the necessity becomes keener for moving ahead with a program that will preserve these buffer areas for the human spirit, seeing that they may long endure for the recreational, educational, scientific, and historical uses of the American people.

It is a pleasure for me to look ahead in a positive program for preserving some of our land in pristine or primitive wilderness. I am happy to advocate before this body congressional action which will lead to the establishment of our National Wilderness Preservation System.

Mr. Speaker, the full text of the National Wilderness Preservation Bill is as follows:

H. R. 11703

A bill to establish on public lands of the United States a National Wilderness Preservation System for the permanent good of the whole people, to provide for the protection and administration of areas within this System by existing Federal agencies and for the gathering and dissemination of information to increase the knowledge and appreciation of wilderness for its appropriate use and enjoyment by the people, to establish a National Wilderness Preservation Council, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That, in order to secure for the American people of present and future generations the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness, there is hereby established a National Wilderness Preservation System. As hereinafter provided this System shall be composed of areas in the United States and its Territories and possessions retaining their natural primeval environment and influence, which areas shall serve the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservation, and historical use and enjoyment by the people in such manner as will leave them unimpaired for future use and enjoyment as wilderness.

(b) The Congress recognizes that an increasing population, accompanied by expanding settlement and growing mechanization, is destined to occupy and modify all areas within the United States, its Territories, and possessions except those that are set apart for preservation and protection in their natural condition. Such preservation of areas of wilderness is recognized as a desirable policy of the Government of the United States of America for the health, welfare, and happiness of its citizens of present and future generations.

It is accordingly declared to be the policy of Congress (1) to secure the dedication of an adequate system of areas of wilderness to serve the recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, and conservation needs of the people and (2) to provide for the protection of these areas in perpetuity and for the gathering and dissemination of information regarding their use and enjoyment as wilderness. Pursuant to this policy the Congress gives sanction to the continued preservation as wilderness of those areas federally owned or controlled that are within national parks, national forests, national wildlife refuges, or other public lands, and that have so far remained under their Federal administration their primeval character. It is pursuant to this policy and sanction that the National Wilderness Preservation System is established. Within the units of this System designated for inclusion by this Act, and in those that may later be designated in accordance with its provisions, the preservation of wilderness shall be paramount.

(c) 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 untrammelled by man, where man himself is a member of the natural community who visits but does not remain and whose travels leave only trails.

For the purposes of this Act the term "wilderness" shall include:

(1) The wilderness, wild, roadless, and primitive areas as presently designated by the Secretary of Agriculture or the Chief of the Forest Service within the national forests;

(2) Those units within the National Park System herein or hereafter designated as units of the National Wilderness Preservation System, except those portions set aside hereunder for roads and accommodations for visitors;

(3) The national wildlife refuges and ranges herein or hereafter designated as units of the National Wilderness Preservation System, except those portions set aside hereunder for roads and installations of buildings and other facilities;

(4) The areas within Indian reservations classified as roadless or wild and included in the National Wilderness Preservation System with the consent of the tribal council or other duly constituted authority; and

(5) Such other areas as shall be designated for inclusion in the National Wilderness Preservation System in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM

Sec. 2. The National Wilderness Preservation System (hereafter referred to in this section as the System) shall comprise (subject to preexisting private rights, if any) the Federally owned or controlled areas of land and water provided for in this section and the related airspace reservations.

NATIONAL FOREST AREAS

(a) The System shall include the following roadless, wild, and wilderness areas within the national forests: Caribou, Little Indian Slough, and Superior Roadless Areas, Superior National Forest, Minn.; Chiricahua Wild Area, Coronado National Forest, Ariz.; Galluro Wild Area, Crook National Forest, Ariz.; Sierra Ancha Wild Area, Tonto National Forest, Ariz.; Mount Zirkle Dome Peak, Wild Area, Routt National Forest, Colo.; Gates of the Mountains Wild Area, Helena National Forest, Mont.; San Pedro Parks Wild Area, Santa Fe National Forest, N. Mex.; Linville

Gorge Wild Area, Pisgah National Forest, N. C.; Gearhart Mountain Wild Area, Fremont National Forest, Oreg.; Kalmiopsis Wild Area, Siskiyou National Forest, Oreg.; Mount Hood Wild Area, Mount Hood National Forest, Oreg.; Mountain Lakes Wild Area, Rogue River National Forest, Oreg.; Strawberry Mountain Wild Area, Malheur National Forest, Oreg.; Goat Rocks Wild Area, in portions of Gifford Pinchot and Snoqualmie National Forests, Wash.; Mount Adams Wild Area, Gifford Pinchot National Forest, Wash.; Mazatzal Wilderness Area, Tonto National Forest, Ariz.; Superstition Wilderness Area, in portions of the Crook and Tonto National Forests, Ariz.; Marble Mountain Wilderness Area, Klamath National Forest, Calif.; Bob Marshall Wilderness Area, in portions of the Flathead and Lewis and Clark National Forests, Mont.; Gila Wilderness Area, Gila National Forest, N. Mex.; Pecos Wilderness Area, in portions of the Santa Fe and Carson National Forests, N. Mex.; Eagle Cap Wilderness Area, in portions of Wallowa and Whitman National Forests, Oreg.; North Absaroka Wilderness Area and South Absaroka Wilderness Area, both in the Shoshone National Forest, Wyo.; Teton Wilderness Area, Teton National Forest, Wyo.

Additional wilderness and wild areas may be designated for inclusion in this System by the Secretary of Agriculture. Such designations shall be reported, with maps and descriptions, to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council established hereunder. These designations by January 1, 1966, shall include, but shall not necessarily be limited to, the areas within the national forests classified as primitive by the Department of Agriculture on January 1, 1956, with such modifications in boundaries as may be made upon reclassification as wilderness or wild.

The administration and any proposed addition, modification, or elimination of wilderness, wild, or roadless areas shall be in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of Agriculture shall establish in conformity with the purposes of this Act, and any such proposed addition, modification, or elimination shall be reported with map and description to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council established hereunder. Any addition, modification, or elimination, except as provided in section 3, subsection (c), paragraph (1), shall take effect as provided in subsection (f) below.

NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM AREAS

(b) The System shall include the following units of the National Park System: Acadia National Park, Maine; Arches National Monument, Utah; Badlands National Monument, S. Dak.; Big Bend National Park, Tex.; Black Canyon of the Gunnison National Monument, Colo.; Bryce Canyon National Park, Utah; Capitol Reef National Monument, Utah; Carlsbad Caverns National Park, N. Mex.; Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area, N. C.; Channel Islands National Monument, Calif.; Chiricahua National Monument, Ariz.; Colorado National Monument, Colo.; Crater Lake National Park, Oreg.; Craters of the Moon National Monument, Idaho; Death Valley National Monument, Calif. and Nev.; Devils Postpile National Monument, Calif.; Dinosaur National Monument, Colo. and Utah; Everglades National Park, Fla.; Glacier National Park, Mont.; Glacier Bay National Monument, Alaska; Grand Canyon National Park and Grand Canyon National Monument, Ariz.; Grand Teton National Park, Wyo.; Great Smoky Mountains National Park, N. C. and Tenn.; Hawaii National Park, T. H.; Isle Royale National Park, Mich.; Joshua Tree

National Monument, Calif.; Katmai National Monument, Alaska; Kings Canyon National Park, Calif.; Lassen Volcanic National Park, Calif.; Lava Beds National Monument, Calif.; Mammoth Cave National Park, Ky.; Mesa Verde National Park, Colo.; Mount McKinley National Park, Alaska; Mount Rainier National Park, Wash.; Olympic National Park, Wash.; Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, Ariz.; Petrified Forest National Monument, Ariz.; Rocky Mountain National Park, Colo.; Saguaro National Monument, Ariz.; Sequoia National Park, Calif.; Shenandoah National Park, Va.; Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park, N. Dak.; White Sands National Monument, N. Mex.; Wind Cave National Park, S. Dak.; Yellowstone National Park, Idaho, Mont., and Wyo.; Yosemite National Park, Calif.; Zion National Park and Zion National Monument, Utah.

Additional units of the National Park System may be designated for inclusion in the System by Act of Congress or by Executive order or proclamation of the President. No unit of the National Park System shall be removed from the System except by Act of Congress.

Ninety days after giving public notice the Secretary of the Interior shall designate within each unit of the National Park System named for inclusion in the System such area or areas as he shall determine to be required for roads and accommodations for visitors. A notice of each such designation, together with a map and description of the affected area or areas, shall be forwarded to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council established hereunder. Each such unit of the National Park System shall become part of the National Wilderness Preservation System when this designation has been made. Designations shall be made not later than January 1, 1966, or within 2 years after the unit has been added to the System, whichever is later. Should the Secretary fail to make such a designation for any such unit of the National Park System within the time limit specified, that unit shall automatically then become a part of the System.

No designation of an area for roads and accommodations for visitors shall modify or affect the application to that area of the provisions of the Act approved August 25, 1916, entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes."

NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGES AND RANGES

(c) The system shall include the following national wildlife refuges and ranges: Aleutian Islands National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska; Aransas National Wildlife Refuge, Texas; Bogoslof National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska; Cabeza Prieta Game Range, Arizona; Cape Romain National Wildlife Refuge, South Carolina; Charles Sheldon Antelope Range, Nevada; Delta National Wildlife Refuge, Louisiana; Desert Game Range, Nevada; Fort Peck Game Range, Montana; Kenai National Moose Range, Alaska; Kodiak National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska; Kofa Game Range, Arizona; Moosehorn National Wildlife Refuge, Maine; National Bison Range, Montana; Nuniyak National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska; Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge, Georgia; Red Rock Lakes Migratory Waterfowl Refuge, Montana; Seney National Wildlife Refuge, Michigan; Sheldon National Antelope Refuge, Nevada; Wichita Mountains National Wildlife Refuge, Oklahoma.

Additional national wildlife refuges and ranges may be designated by the Secretary of the Interior for inclusion in the System. Such designations shall be reported, with maps and descriptions, to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council established hereunder. No wildlife refuge or range shall be removed from the System except by Act of Congress.

Ninety days after giving public notice the Secretary of the Interior shall designate within each national wildlife refuge and range named for inclusion in the System such area or areas as he shall determine to be required for roads and buildings and other installations for administration and protection of the refuge or range for wildlife. A notice of each such designation together with a map and description of the affected area or areas shall be forwarded to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council established hereunder. Each national wildlife refuge and range named for inclusion shall become part of the National Wilderness Preservation System when this designation has been so made for that national wildlife refuge or range. Designation shall be made not later than January 1, 1966, or within 2 years after a refuge or range has been added to the System, whichever is later. Should the Secretary fail to make such a designation for any such national wildlife refuge or range within the time limits specified, that refuge or range shall automatically then become a part of the System.

THE INDIANS' WILDERNESS

(d) The System shall include the following roadless areas and wild areas on Indian reservations and such additional roadless and wild areas on Indian reservations as the Secretary of the Interior may designate, but no such area shall be included until the tribe or band within whose reservation it lies, through its tribal council or other duly constituted authority, shall have given its consent to the inclusion of the area within the System: Black Mesa Roadless Area, Navaho Indian Reservation, Arizona; Black River Roadless Area, Fort Apache and San Carlos Indian Reservations, Arizona; Columbia-San Poil Divide Roadless Area, Colville Indian Reservation, Washington; Fort Charlotte Wild Area, Grand Portage Indian Reservation, Minnesota; Goat Rocks Roadless Area, Yakima Indian Reservation, Washington; Grand Canyon Roadless Area, Hualapai Indian Reservation, Arizona; Grand Portage Wild Area, Grand Portage Indian Reservation, Minnesota; Mesa Verde Roadless Area, Consolidated Ute Indian Reservation, Colorado; Mount Adams Wild Area, Yakima Indian Reservation, Washington; Mount Jefferson Roadless Area, Warm Springs Indian Reservation, Oregon; Mount Thomas Roadless Area, Fort Apache Indian Reservation, Arizona; Mission Range Roadless Area, Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana; Painted Desert Roadless Area, Navaho Indian Reservation, Arizona; Rainbow Bridge Roadless Area, Navaho Indian Reservation, Arizona; Wind River Mountains Roadless Area, Shoshone Indian Reservation, Wyoming.

The administration and any proposed addition, modification, or elimination of roadless and wild areas on Indian reservations shall be in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior shall establish in conformity with the purposes of this Act subject to the consent of the several tribes or bands, through their tribal councils or other duly constituted authorities, each with regard to the area or areas within its jurisdiction. Any addition, modification, or elimination shall be reported, with map and description, to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council. Nothing in this Act shall in any respect abrogate any treaty with any band or tribe of Indians, or in any way modify or otherwise affect existing hunting and fishing rights or privileges.

(e) The System shall also include such units as Congress may designate by statute and such units as may be designated within any federally owned or controlled land and/or water by the official or officials au-

thorized to determine the use of the lands and waters involved. The administration, modification, and elimination of such units shall be as prescribed by Congress or in accordance with regulations that shall be established in conformity with the purposes of this Act by the official or officials authorized to determine the use of the lands and waters involved.

(f) Any proposed addition to, modification of, or elimination from the National Wilderness Preservation System otherwise than by Act of Congress, except on Indian reservations and except as provided in section 3, subsection (c), paragraph (1), shall be reported to Congress by the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council upon receipt of notice and shall take effect upon the expiration of the first period of 120 calendar days, of continuous session of Congress, following the date on which the report is received by Congress; but only if during this period there has not been passed by either House of Congress a resolution opposing such proposed addition, modification, or elimination. Within any Federally owned unit within the National Wilderness Preservation System the acquisition of any privately owned lands is hereby authorized and such sums as the Congress may decide are hereby authorized to be appropriated for such acquisition out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

USE OF THE WILDERNESS

SEC. 3. (a) Nothing in this Act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose stated in the establishment of any national park or monument, national forest, national wildlife refuge, Indian reservation, or other Federal land area involved, except that any agency administering any area within the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area. The National Wilderness Preservation System shall be devoted to the public purposes of recreational, educational, scenic, scientific, conservation, and historical uses. All such use shall be in harmony, both in kind and degree, with the wilderness environment and with its preservation.

(b) Except as otherwise provided in this section, and subject to existing private rights (if any) no portion of any area constituting a unit of the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be devoted to commodity production, to lumbering, prospecting, mining, or the removal of mineral deposits (including oil and gas), grazing by domestic livestock (other than by pack animals in connection with the administration or recreational, educational, or scientific use of the wilderness), water impoundment or reservoir storage, or to any form of commercial enterprise except as contemplated by the purposes of this Act. Within such areas, except as otherwise provided in this section and in section 2 of this Act, there shall be no road, nor any use of motor vehicles, or motorboats, or landing of aircraft, nor any other transport, or delivery of persons or supplies, nor any structure or installation in excess of the minimum required for the administration of the area for the purposes of this Act.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS

(c) The following special provisions are hereby made:

(1) Roads over national forest lands reserved from the public domain and necessary for ingress and egress to or from privately owned property shall be, and roads over national forest lands otherwise acquired may be, allowed under appropriate conditions determined by the forest supervisor. Upon allowance of such roads the boundary of the area shall thereupon be modified to exclude the portion affected by the roads. The new boundaries shall be reported, with a

map, through the Chief of the Forest Service to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council. All such changes shall be included in the next following annual report of the Council but need not be separately reported to Congress.

(2) Within national forest areas grazing of domestic livestock and the use of airplanes or motorboats where these practices have already become well established may be permitted to continue subject to such restrictions as the Chief of the Forest Service deems desirable. Such practices shall be recognized as nonconforming use of the area of wilderness involved and shall be terminated whenever this can be effected with equity to, or in agreement with, those making such use.

(3) Other provisions of this Act to the contrary notwithstanding, the management of 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 roadless areas, particularly in the vicinity of lakes, streams, and portages.

(4) Any existing use authorized or provided for in the Executive order or legislation establishing any national wildlife refuge or range may be continued in accordance with permit granted under such authorization or provision, but any nonconforming use of the areas of wilderness involved shall be terminated whenever this can be effected with equity to, or in agreement with, those making such use.

NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION COUNCIL

SEC. 4. (a) A National Wilderness Preservation Council is hereby created to consist ex officio of the persons at the time designated as the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the Senate, the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives, the Chief of the United States Forest Service, the Director of the National Park Service, the Director of the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and also 6 citizen members known to be informed regarding, and interested in the preservation of, wilderness, 2 of whom shall be named initially for terms of 2 years, 2 for terms of 4 years, and 2 for terms of 6 years, by the President. After the expiration of these initial terms, each citizen member shall be appointed for a 6-year term. When initial or subsequent appointments are to be made to this Council any established national organization interested in wilderness preservation may make recommendations to the President regarding candidates any of whom would be deemed suitable for appointment to the Council. The Council shall choose from among its members a chairman, who shall serve for a 2-year term. The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution shall be the secretary of the Council and, subject to the Council, shall maintain its headquarters.

(b) The Council shall serve as the repository for, and shall maintain available for public inspection, such maps and official papers regarding the National Wilderness Preservation System as may be filed with it. Upon receipt of a report of a proposed addition, modification, or elimination of an area as required under section 2 of this Act, the secretary of the Council shall report such proposed action to the Senate and to the House of Representatives. The Council shall serve as a nonexclusive clearinghouse for exchange of information among the agencies administering areas within the System. The

Council shall make, sponsor, and coordinate surveys of wilderness needs and conditions and gather and disseminate information, including maps, for the information of the public regarding use and preservation of the areas of wilderness within the System, including information and maps regarding State and other non-Federal areas which the Council shall consider important to wilderness preservation. The Council is directed to consult with, advise, and invoke the aid of the President, the Secretaries of Interior and Agriculture, and other appropriate officers of the United States Government and to assist in obtaining cooperation in wilderness preservation and use among Federal and State agencies and private agencies and organizations concerned therewith. The Council, through its Chairman, shall annually present to Congress not later than the first Monday in December, a report on the operations of the Council during the preceding fiscal year and on the status of the National Wilderness Preservation System at the close of that fiscal year, including an annotated list of the areas in the System showing their size, location, and administering agency, and shall make such recommendations to Congress as the Council shall deem advisable.

(c) The Council shall meet annually and at such times between annual meetings as the Council shall determine, or upon call of the Chairman or any three members. Members of the Council shall serve as such without compensation but shall receive transportation expenses and in addition a per diem payment to be fixed by the Council, not to exceed \$25 a day, as reimbursement for expenditures in connection with attending any meeting of the Council. A sum sufficient to pay the necessary clerical and administrative expenses of the Council and its members, not to exceed an annual expenditure of \$50,000, and such additional sums as the Congress may decide for carrying out the purposes of the Council, including printing, are hereby authorized to be appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. The Council is authorized to accept private gifts and benefactions to be used to further the purposes of this Act, and such gifts and benefactions shall be deductible from income for Federal tax purposes and shall be exempt from Federal estate tax.

Sec. 5. This Act shall be known by the short title "National Wilderness Preservation Act."

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1956

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on next Monday this House will commence deliberations on House Resolution 627 which has been reported out by the Judiciary Committee on May 21, 1956. This legislation entitled the "Civil Rights Act of 1956" would establish a Commission on Civil Rights with duties to, first, investigate the allegations that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote or are being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin; second, study and collect information concerning, economic, social, and legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; and third, appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government

with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution.

Thereafter the Commission is invested with powers to carry out its responsibilities which powers include the full cooperation of all Federal agencies.

The act further strengthens the current civil rights statutes and expedites the participation of the Attorney General of the United States in civil rights cases. The act further provides means of securing and protecting the right to vote, making it clear that it is unlawful for a private individual as well as one acting under color of law to interfere with the right to vote at any general, special, or primary election concerning Federal offices. There is also provided a civil action at the instigation of the Attorney General to redress or prevent deviations from the civil rights code with respect to voting. The secret right of suffrage has been violated on numerous occasions. Every effort should be made to guarantee the inviolability of the right to vote. The addition of this civil remedy will add greater flexibility to the present Federal protections of the right to vote.

This legislation represents the considered judgment of some of the best minds in this Congress. It certainly represents one of the finest endeavors of the Judiciary Committee.

Vast areas of civil rights in America are untouched and remain the work of a future Congress. The recommendations of the Judiciary Committee in this civil rights legislation are certainly in the nature of a moderate step forward. Eighty-eight years have passed since the adoption of the 14th amendment and all progress in the development of civil and human rights in America since that time has been made too slowly for our American concept of justice and equality. And yet the very moderate, temperate recommendations of this legislation appear to be the full distance that this Congress can go in achieving an honorable regard for civil and human rights. Few citizens can believe that the legislation is sufficient and yet we support it because it appears to be the best we can do at this time.

The Supreme Court integration decision has given the cause of justice greater momentum which must not be retarded. We are moving in the direction of a more refined definition of the liberty and equality under the law. People of all races, religious creeds, and social groups are crying for the privilege of equality in the esteem of their fellow man.

A small segment of our country has been able to effectively block the granting of honorable citizenship to all citizens and has abused the Supreme Court for making decisions compatible with the Constitution in a growing Nation with increasing development of individual rights in a democracy.

When lawmakers and trusted servants of our people openly advocate the disregard and the nullification of judicial interpretations and decrees, anarchy and chaos threaten. The nullification of the Supreme Court decision on segregation will never be effected. There is no further place for dilatory action or appeal.

Bigotry and racial hatred have no right to stay or suspend the operation of this Court mandate.

The Constitution survives through the life-giving stimulation of Supreme Court interpretation which is constantly molding the framework for American law. If the Supreme Court did not conceivably have this power of constant review and interpretation of the Constitution, it would cease to be a court. The constitutional interpretations would never reflect the constant-changing shades of interpretation that developed reasoning can provide. As America grows older and more mature, we must expect that Supreme Court interpretations of the Constitution will reflect an increasing respect for the development of human rights of the individual. Liberty and the definition of human rights is never constant and each passing generation, whether members of a Supreme Court or citizens of a community, pass through the same evolution.

Freedom can only exist where all citizens are assured of their basic rights as set forth by the living Constitution—a Constitution interpreted by Court decision. No man should expect more. No man should be given less.

Sectional problems which cannot be solved internally must be submitted for decision to the entire body for the American people to settle in a manner set forth by law. Once the highest tribunal has spoken upon an issue, that issue is settled and should be recognized by all people as the law of the land from which the only appeal is constitutional amendment. Right or wrong, the Supreme Court is the final authority to interpret that Constitution.

The problem of integrating American life is not a local problem. To the South it means the breakdown of years of prejudice and separate social systems. In the North there are also problems of adjustment, of developing a concept of unrestricted housing and social equality. And the problems of the North are perhaps even more difficult than the problems of the South. The difference is that the North tries where the South despairs. We of the North plead with our fellow citizens from the South to try to reconcile to an understanding of a fuller meaning of liberty—a meaning which America needs throughout the world.

CLOTHING FOR AMPUTEES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein a bill that I introduced.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am including in my remarks the text of a bill I introduced which would provide \$180 a year for