

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



ROUND TABLE

SEVEN NEW TVA'S?

A Radio Discussion by JAMES MURRAY

JOSEPH O'MAHONEY, HERMAN PRITCHETT

and JEROME FRANK, *Chairman*

562D BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH
THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY

NUMBER 350 * * * DECEMBER 3, 1944

Around the Round Table



JEROME N. FRANK, judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, was admitted to the Illinois bar in 1912 and practiced law in Chicago from 1912 to 1925. Judge Frank received both his Ph.B. and J.D. degrees at the University of Chicago. He has served as general counsel for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and for the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation as well as a special counsel to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Recently, he practiced law in New York, and he was a commissioner of the Securities and Exchange Commission from 1937 until he was appointed to the federal bench in 1941. He is the author of *Law and the Modern Mind* (1930); *Save America First* (1938); and *If Men Were Angels* (1942).



JAMES E. MURRAY, United States Senator from Montana, received his law degree at New York University Law School. He was admitted to the Montana bar in 1901 and has practiced law in Butte since that time. He served in various county and state offices in Montana and was appointed to fill the unexpired senatorial term of the late Thomas J. Walsh in 1934. He has since that time been reelected to fill two full terms in the Senate.



JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, United States Senator from Wyoming, was born in Massachusetts and studied at Columbia University and received his LL.B. degree from Georgetown University. He was the editor of the *Cheyenne State Leader*, and he practiced law both in Cheyenne and in Washington, D.C. He has served as a vice-president of the Democratic State Committee of Wyoming and has been a member of the Democratic National Committee. He was first assistant postmaster-general of the United States, and, in January, 1934, he was appointed United States Senator to fill the term of the Honorable John B. Kendrick. Senator O'Mahoney was reelected in 1940.



C. HERMAN PRITCHETT, assistant professor of political science at the University of Chicago, did his undergraduate work at James Millikin University and his graduate work at the University of Chicago, where he received his Ph.D. degree in 1937. He was closely associated with the Tennessee Valley Authority, which he served as a research associate from 1934 to 1937. Mr. Pritchett was a fellow of the Social Science Research Council and spent one year in England studying. Before joining the faculty of the University of Chicago, he was a member of the Department of Labor staff. He is the author of the *Tennessee Valley Authority: A Study in Public Administration* (1943).

SEVEN NEW TVA'S?

MR. FRANK: The most inclusive program of public works ever proposed is being discussed today. It is perhaps the boldest suggestion for human control of nature ever made—the most imaginative plan for the use of natural resources ever devised. By comparison it makes the job done by the TVA seem like that of a child sailing a toy boat on a small fish pond.

Murray, you are a proponent of a bill dealing with one phase of the problem—the bill creating a Missouri Valley Authority. What aroused your interest?¹

SENATOR MURRAY: I am advocating the creation of a Missouri Valley Authority for our valley, and similar authorities in other sections of the country, because I believe that the TVA has demonstrated that it is the way in which the river problems should be solved. I am thinking not only of its success in controlling the river for navigation, for power production, and for giving protection from floods but also of the success of the TVA in its program of development of the natural resources.

In our area of the country we find that we are losing population, because we do not have a balanced economy. With the development of power that will come from this, we will be able to develop some of our natural resources and to stimulate industrial development, as well as bring in new settlers on our lands from reclamation projects.

This is a great opportunity also in connection with the postwar

¹ Senator Murray's bill to create a Missouri Valley Authority was introduced on August 18, 1944. This bill was modeled from the law which created the Tennessee Valley Authority, which was written by the late Senator George W. Norris.

program of providing employment, because out here in the West is the place where we can bring about a huge program of employment as a result of this development.

MR. FRANK: O'Mahoney, what is your reaction?

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: If we are to have anything approximating full employment after the war, if we are going to substitute production for peace for production for war, there is no doubt but that we must undertake the full development of the water resources of the nation.

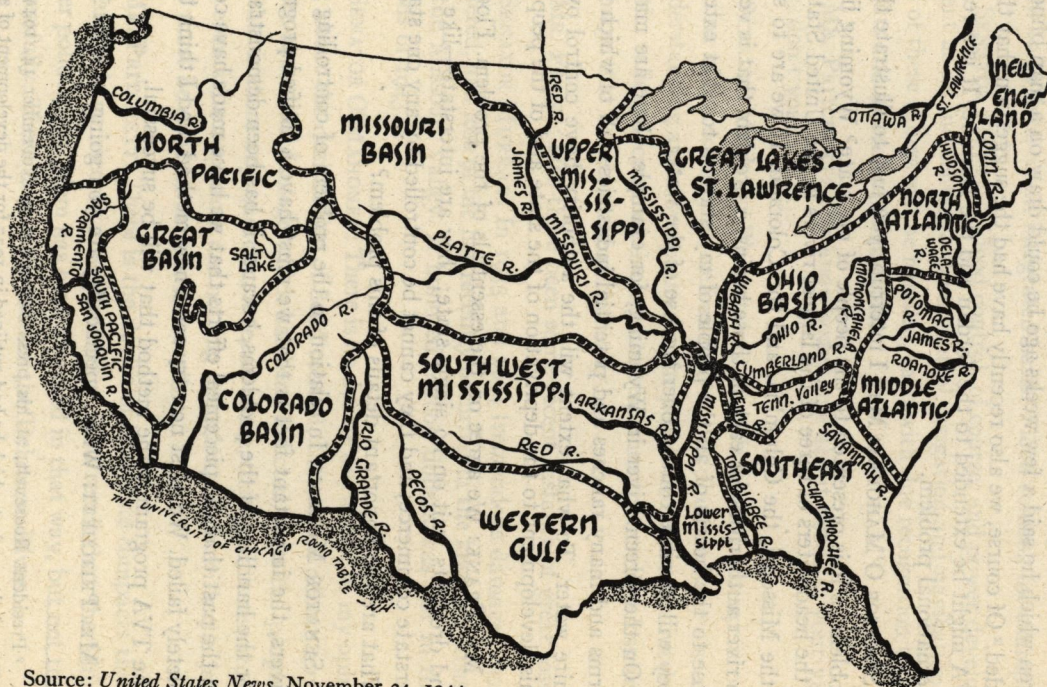
The question, however, is broader than that merely of developing these powers and these resources. The question is one of the boundaries of the discretionary authority which is to be vested in these various regional authorities. A fundamental problem is the preservation of individual and local economic freedom and economic rights. Therefore, it seems to me that the legislation which undertakes to establish these authorities must be so carefully considered and so carefully drawn that we shall not erect a system of authoritarian control in the place of the free system of popular sovereignty which we now have.

MR. FRANK: What, specifically, are the seven areas for which regional authorities have been proposed?

MR. PRITCHETT: In 1937 President Roosevelt sent to the Congress a message in which he laid down seven suggestions. Regional authorities should be established, he suggested, for (1) the Atlantic Seaboard, (2) the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley, (3) the Tennessee plus the Cumberland, (4) the Missouri River and the Red River of the North, (5) the Arkansas, the Red, and the Rio Grande, (6) the

The University of Chicago ROUND TABLE. Published weekly. 10 cents a copy; full-year subscription, 52 issues, two dollars. Published by the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Entered as second-class matter January 3, 1939, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

NEW TVA'S?



Source: *United States News*, November 24, 1944

Colorado River, and (7) the Columbia River Basin. Those are the seven which he said a few weeks ago he could draw on a map blindfolded.² Of course, we also recently have had the suggestion that the TVA might be extended to the Jordan and the Danube. It is a real international problem.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: May I interrupt you just to illustrate the problem as it is presented to the people of my state? Wyoming lies at the headwaters of three of the largest rivers in the United States—the Missouri, the Columbia, and the Colorado. If we are to set up river authorities for each of those basins, a problem that is very close to the hearts of all the people of my state is to what extent they will sacrifice control over the use of the water.

On the Green River in Wyoming, for example, there are many farms and many ranches and potential industries—all of which require water. To what extent will the authority have control over this development to the deprivation of the state and of the people?

MR. FRANK: We agree on the essentials of the problem. Floods and droughts wait on no single state; they are interstate—like interstate commerce; and they cannot be controlled by any one state. What are the important details of this problem?

SENATOR MURRAY: In relation to the problem of controlling the rivers, the important fact is that we must have a unified program for the handling of the problems, because it has been demonstrated in the past that the piecemeal efforts that we have made have completely failed. We must now try some new method, and I think that the TVA program is the method that will be successful.

MR. PRITCHETT: What, specifically, are you going to work into

² President Roosevelt, at his press conference on November 14, 1944, reaffirmed the project which he had outlined in 1937 for the development of seven of the country's major watersheds along the general lines of the TVA (see the *New York Herald Tribune*, November 15, 1944).

this program that has been done piecemeal in the past but that is now to be done on an integrated basis? Flood control, for example?

SENATOR MURRAY: Flood control, of course, and power development as an incidental to flood control, irrigation and navigation—all of these things will be handled, each with due recognition to the rights and interests of the other.

MR. PRITCHETT: You know something about floods in your valley, don't you?

SENATOR MURRAY: We certainly do. We have floods up in our section of the country as well as down below; but we have also an understanding and a sympathy for the people in the lower stretches of the valley, because of the need to stop that tremendous loss and damage that occurs there periodically.

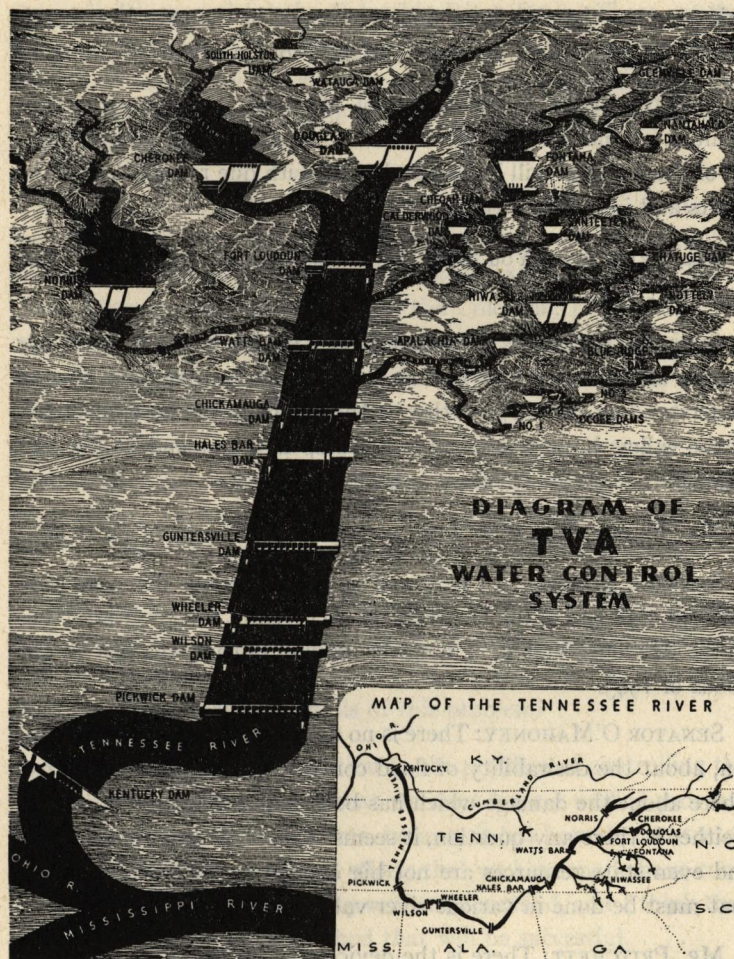
MR. FRANK: Has there been some recent instance of great loss?

SENATOR MURRAY: In 1933 and 1934 tremendous damages were suffered, and loss of life has recently occurred in the lower stretches of the Missouri Valley. A hundred million dollars was lost in the floods of 1943.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: There is no debate anywhere, in my opinion, about the desirability of flood control; there is no debate anywhere about the damage which has been inflicted upon the people. Neither is there any question, it seems to me, that private resources and even state resources are not big enough to cope with the job that must be done in various river valleys.

MR. PRITCHETT: There is the device of interstate compacts that the states have used to a certain extent. You recall that the Ohio River pollution problem has been attacked in that way, but not too successfully. There is also the case of the Delaware River.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: And there was the Colorado River compact, by which the Boulder Dam was constructed.



Reprinted by courtesy of the Tennessee Valley Authority

MR. PRITCHETT: Do you see any success in that method for this problem?

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: It was very successful so far as it went,

but it did not go far enough. For example, we built the Boulder Dam by federal funds. It has provided a lot of electric power and water for Los Angeles. It has been beneficial elsewhere; but it has not been beneficial in the upper basin states. The development of Wyoming, in the Green River shed, I think, has, to some extent, perhaps been held back by that Colorado River compact.

But we are dealing with something more fundamental than that. We are dealing with the nature of the autonomous power that it is now proposed to grant to these regional authorities. I would like to have you, Pritchett, from your experience with TVA, tell us what you deem to be the extent of this autonomous power.

MR. PRITCHETT: I would say that there are perhaps three elements that ought to be stressed in connection with the TVA pattern. The first is found in the word—the “autonomy” of the TVA—which you used. It is thus in the sense that it is a separate federal corporation which is not responsible to a cabinet head or to any existing department and which is free to work out its program with a fair degree of control over its own destiny.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: What do you mean by a “fair degree of control”? Doesn't the TVA have practically complete control over its own destiny?

MR. PRITCHETT: No, I should say not. It is responsible to Congress, as all federal agencies are; it cannot move without the funds which Congress appropriates. It is also subject to the over-all control of the President, which may or may not be exercised very intensively at any one time. But it certainly is limited in that way.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: You will pardon me if I give you an illustration of what I have in mind. The law which set up the TVA provided specifically that the headquarters should be at Muscle Shoals. Yet the head office has been established at Knoxville—apparently a deviation from the thought of Congress when the

TVA was set up. To what extent is that a pattern to be followed by the directors of the other river authorities?

MR. PRITCHETT: I should say that that is a relatively minor point.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: Oh, I agree that it is not a very important one, but it is a pattern.

MR. PRITCHETT: It is perfectly consistent with the statute. Congress has looked into that matter a number of times and has impliedly approved it, although it did not amend the statute to say that it approved that transfer.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: Under the authority scheme as you envision it, to what extent would the people, through their state governments, have an opportunity of participating in the planning of development works? I ask you that question because in the consideration of the Flood Control Bill last week in Congress, and in the consideration of the Rivers and Harbors Bill, the Senate adopted an amendment which gives to the people, through the governors of their respective states, the right to participate in the drawing of the plans. Then it provides that these plans shall all be approved by Congress before they become effective.³

³ "One of the biggest flood-control authorizations on record passed the Senate today [December 1].

"Projected as a job-creating program, it authorizes postwar construction to cost \$1,000,000,000, spread over most of the country's great river basins. Actual appropriations are yet to come.

"The bill now goes back to the House, then probably to a conference committee to reconcile differences between the versions approved by the two branches.

"Immediately upon passage of the bill on a voice vote after nearly two weeks of heated debate, the Senate swung into consideration of a \$500,000,000 rivers and harbors measure. . . .

"Passage of the flood-control bill came abruptly when Senator James E. Murray, Democrat, of Montana, agreed to sidetrack the proposal to place administration of its multi-million-dollar program for the Missouri Basin under a Missouri Valley Authority. . . .

"The Missouri plan in the bill was recommended by President Roosevelt. It

MR. PRITCHETT: That leads to the second point, I would say, of what is characteristic of the TVA pattern. It is the point that has been called the "grass-roots" character of the TVA. There is the important fact that the TVA has its habitat in the region itself; its headquarters are there; its directors are there. They can be subjected to the influences that prevail in the region. They know what the regional point of view is. And by that location in the area, in contrast to the ordinary federal pattern, which would put the offices in Washington, that measure of grass-roots control is made possible.

MR. FRANK: Before you go on to talk about the techniques, just give us some illustration of how TVA did do things for the people in the area.

MR. PRITCHETT: There are a number of things that might be said. I like to think of the example given by Mr. Lilienthal in his

was prepared jointly by the Army Engineers and the Reclamation Bureau. The initial cost was put at \$200,000,000.

"The House Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, meanwhile, approved a measure authorizing the Reclamation Bureau to go into a \$200,000,000 initial program for the Missouri Valley. The proposal is similar to the Senate's plan incorporated in the flood-control bill, William B. Warne, Assistant Commissioner of Reclamation, told the committee.

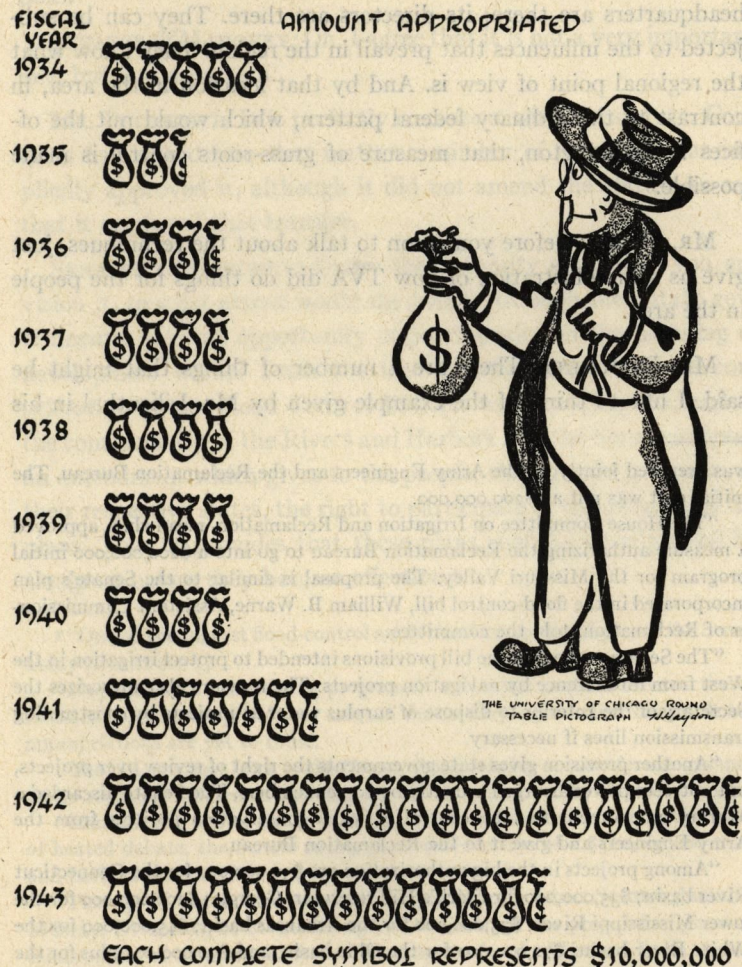
"The Senate wrote into the bill provisions intended to protect irrigation in the West from interference by navigation projects. The measure also authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to dispose of surplus water at projects by constructing transmission lines if necessary.

"Another provision gives state governments the right of review over projects, but not veto power as urged ardently by some members. The Senate discarded a Murray amendment to take control of water-conservation projects from the Army Engineers and give it to the Reclamation Bureau.

"Among projects in the big authorization are \$30,000,000 for the Connecticut River basin; \$35,000,000 for Clark's Hill reservoir, Georgia; \$200,000,000 for the lower Mississippi River; \$35,000,000 for the Arkansas basin; \$45,000,000 for the White River basin; \$70,000,000 for the Ohio basin, and \$50,000,000 plus for the Sacramento-San Joaquin basin" (New York Herald Tribune, December 2, 1944, p. 5).

CONGRESSIONAL APPROPRIATIONS TO THE TVA

Fiscal Years, 1934-43



Source: C. Herman Pritchett, *The Tennessee Valley Authority: A Study in Public Administration* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1943).

book on the TVA, in connection with the influence of the TVA activities on local governments in the area. A great many cities in the area are now, of course, operating their own power systems. And that proved to be a tonic for many city governments which had been somnolent. They now had a new job to perform, and it was a challenge to them. In one city, I believe, the new power board did the job so well that the residents of the city thought that they ought to turn the whole city government over to it.⁴

MR. FRANK: Did they get reduced rates as a result?

MR. PRITCHETT: The whole power problem is one that we cannot go into here, of course, but the country knows, I think, the pattern of reduced rates which acted as a stimulus upon the private companies of that area so that a general, nation-wide reduction in power rates did follow.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: Pritchett, you recognize the fact that there is a wide difference between the conditions that exist in the Tennessee Valley and those which exist in the Missouri Valley and in the valley of every western stream where the rainfall is considerably less than that in the Tennessee Valley and where the people are more dependent for their daily living upon the use of water and where a much larger percentage of land area is under the control of the federal government than in any other part of the Union.

MR. PRITCHETT: Murray, when you introduced your bill on the MVA, did you have any notion that the TVA principle and program of activity should be transferred *in toto* to the Missouri Valley Authority?

SENATOR MURRAY: Oh, of course not. We merely recognized the principles that guide the TVA. Of course, we realize that there is a vast difference between conditions in our valleys in the West and the Tennessee Valley.

⁴ David E. Lilienthal, *T.V.A.: Democracy on the March* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944).

But it seems to me that, with the method of operating TVA, all those new conditions in our area will be given full recognition and can be very well protected.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: Now, Senator Murray, let me ask you this question, basing it upon the fact that you and I and eighteen other senators joined last week in adding an amendment to the Flood Control Bill, which recognizes the priority of the consumptive use of water for domestic purposes, for municipal purposes, for irrigation, for mining, and for industrial purposes over navigation.⁵ Do you believe that that same doctrine of priority should be written into these authorities?

SENATOR MURRAY: I am sure that when this bill comes up for study in the Senate, all those matters will be gone into, and the language of the bill will be carefully formulated so as to give full protection to the rights of these upper valley states.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: In other words, you envision no sacrifice of this priority of water to which we have been so accustomed in the West?

SENATOR MURRAY: That is right; I do not. And I believe, even if we did not have those amendments in there, that under the grass-roots theory of the operations of the TVA, there would be given full recognition to those rights, because they would appreciate the fact that those states could not exist without proper recognition of their water rights.

MR. FRANK: What about the charge that this is going to create "a supergovernment"?

SENATOR MURRAY: There is absolutely no merit to that argument at all. The argument is not advanced by the people; that is an argument advanced by those who wish to defeat the program. The

⁵ See the notes on pages 8-9 on the Senate Flood Control Bill.

SALES OF TVA POWER

Fiscal Years

CLASSES	1939	1942
MUNICIPALITIES	\$\$\$	\$
COOPERATIVES	\$\$\$	\$\$\$
ELECTRIC UTILITIES	\$\$\$	\$\$\$\$\$\$\$
INDUSTRIES	\$\$\$\$\$	\$
DIRECT SALES	\$	\$159,000
OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES	0	\$16,000

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE

EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL REPRESENTS \$500,000 ~

Source: Pritchett, *op. cit.*

power interests are much behind that kind of an argument, and they are the ones that are not in favor of the MVA. I discovered that early. After filing my bill in the Congress, I noticed that the power-controlled newspapers of my own state started a barrage of editorials against it, attacking it on the ground that it would set up a superauthority.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: The best way to make it clear that it is not a superauthority is to write into the law specific provisions which would deprive it of any power to exercise such superauthority.

SENATOR MURRAY: Some provisions can be put in there, I suppose. But it cannot become such a superauthority, as you mention, because the authority will have to come constantly to Congress. It will have to report periodically. It will have to come to Congress for approval of every step it takes. When these projects are examined by the Congress, of course, they can disapprove of their program if they find that it is detrimental to such interests.

MR. PRITCHETT: May I suggest, O'Mahoney, that the problem may be, when the time comes, to draft the measure to get it enough power to do the job rather than in writing in enough restrictions to keep it from doing something that you think it might possibly do.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: That the authority should have the power to do the job, I think, will be agreed by all who see what the task in the postwar world is going to be. But, on the other hand, those who are familiar with the Tennessee Valley Authority perhaps overlook the fact that out in the Missouri Valley, in the upper states, and in the public land states, there are vast Indian rights which are dependent upon treaties involving the use of water. There is the mineral leasing act, which involves and governs the development of oil and coal and sodium and phosphate upon the public domain. There is the Bureau of Mines, which undertakes to stimulate individual enterprise in the development of the mining industry. And, of course, there is the Bureau of Reclamation, and other bureaus. Then, in the Department of Agriculture, there is the Soil Conservation Service. We know now from what the TVA has done that we have a soil conservation program in the Tennessee Valley which differs from the soil conservation program of the Department of Agriculture. Which is the better I do not pretend to say. But I do know that we have discretionary power in the Tennessee Valley which runs counter to the power which is vested in the Department of Agriculture.

MR. FRANK: But, O'Mahoney, in the Tennessee Valley the local

interests seem to have been able to assert their points of view, and particularly well, because they were dealing with governmental officials close by. Why would that not be true out West just as well as in the South?

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: It might very easily be true. I have nothing but praise for Mr. Lilienthal, and for his associates, in what they have done in developing the Tennessee Valley Authority, but I want to be sure that, when Mr. Lilienthal ceases to operate in the Tennessee Valley, the person who holds a comparable position in the Colorado River Valley, in the Columbia River Valley, in the Missouri Valley, shall have an equally enlightened point of view.

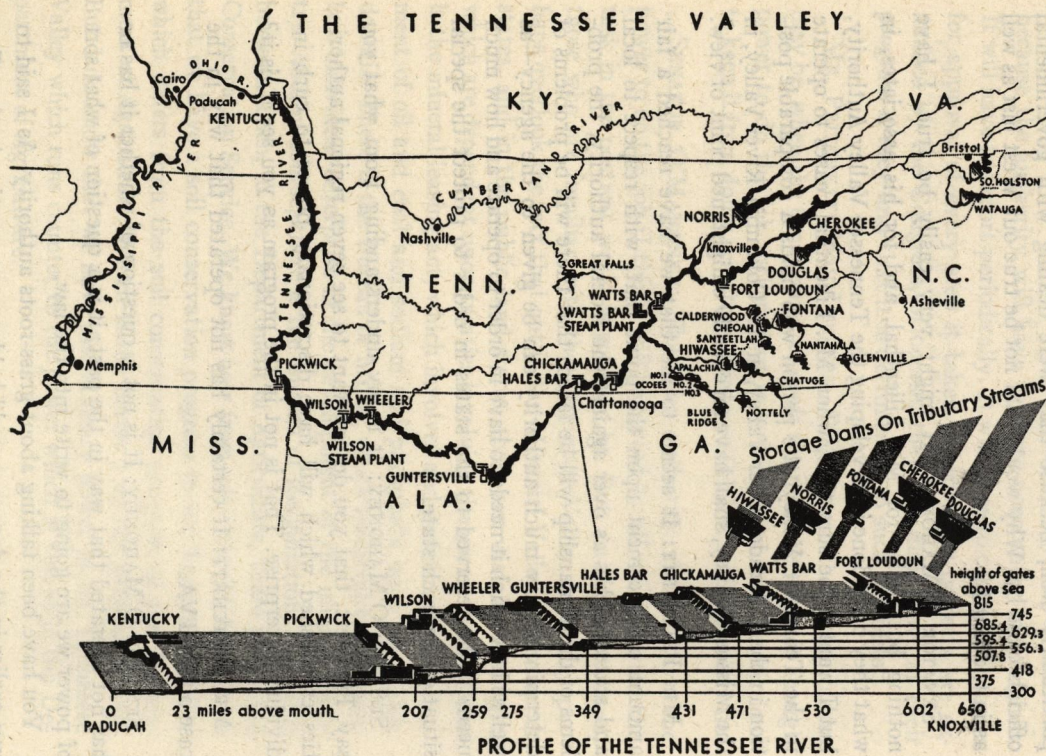
MR. PRITCHETT: It seems to me that we have reached a fair amount of agreement upon the point that, with respect to local and states' rights as over against the federal authority, the problems of draftsmanship will be faced; that there will be problems of determining how much authority can be given to the agency—as well as how much it needs to have in order to operate and how much needs to be reserved to the states in order to protect the special situation for each state.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: It is my understanding from what you say, Pritchett, that you do not want to see seven regional authorities established which will have discretionary power to curb individual enterprise. That is not in the program as you see it, is it?

MR. PRITCHETT: It certainly has not operated that way in the case of the TVA.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: It is not a question of whether it has or has not operated that way in the past; it is a question of what sort of power we are going to write into the law.

You have been talking about grass-roots authority. As I said to you earlier in the day, you could hold a mass meeting in the office of a regional authority, but the regional authority may dismiss the



Reprinted by courtesy of the Tennessee Valley Authority

mass meeting, retire into its private office, and then decide absolutely contrary to what the mass meeting wanted. You may say that they would not; that they have not done it in the past; but we cannot venture into the field of prophecy. I want to know whether you want to give them the power to do it?

MR. FRANK: As I understand it, O'Mahoney, your point is that the popular pressure on the government does not move as the crow flies and that the shortest distance between two points on the political map is not always the straightest. Why do you have to come to Washington to get pressure on a local administrator?

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: It is not a question of pressure; it is a question of the exertion of power. At the present time Congress has the power. It was exemplified in the consideration of the Flood Control Bill. During the hearings on that bill, the Army engineers said to me, in response to an inquiry, during the hearings, "Why, of course, if any controversy arises between navigation and the farmers in the period of drought, we will be for the farmers."

My response was, "Then, why not write it into the law?"

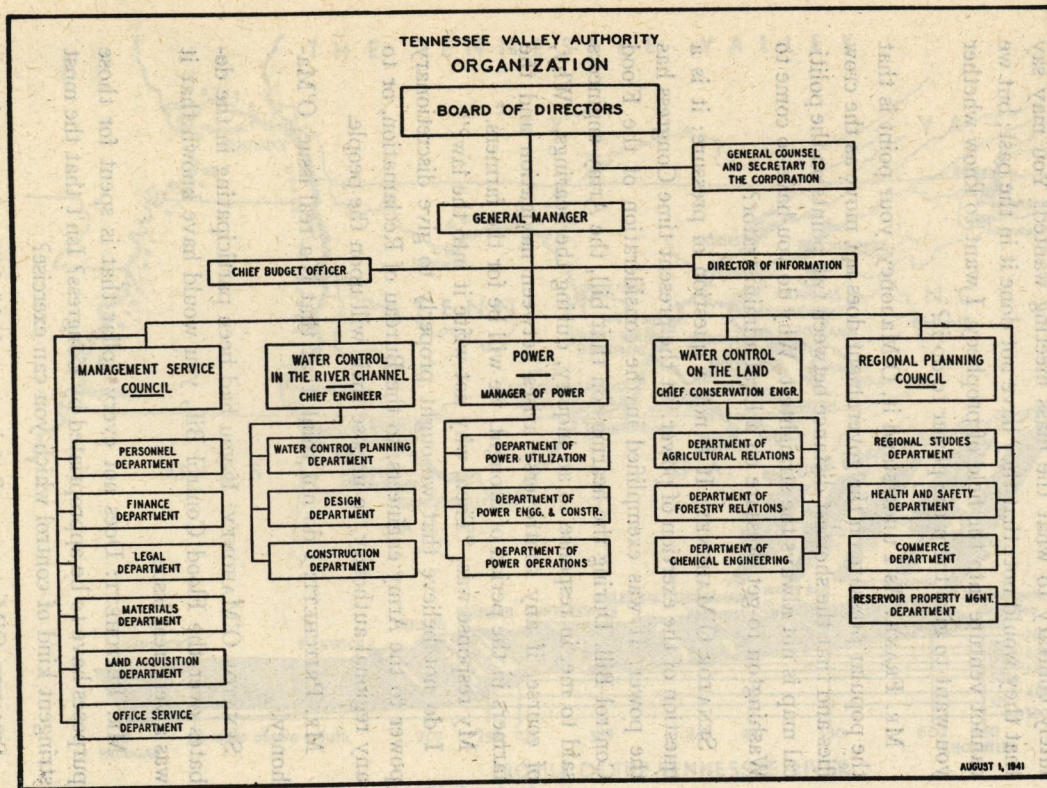
I do not believe that we ought properly to give discretionary power to the Army engineers, to the Bureau of Reclamation, or to any regional authority, to impose their will upon the people.

MR. PRITCHETT: I do not think that that is a real issue, O'Mahoney.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: If you had been participating in the debates over the Flood Control Bill, you would have known that it was a very real issue.

MR. PRITCHETT: Does not every dollar that is spent for those purposes have to be appropriated by Congress? Isn't that the most stringent kind of control which you can exercise?

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: But in one of the bills which has been presented to Congress for the establishment of the Missouri Valley



Reprinted by courtesy of the Tennessee Valley Authority

Authority, there is the express power granted to the authority to use its funds for the construction of dams. That is a by-passing of Congress.

MR. FRANK: But, Murray, you do not consider that an essential, do you?

SENATOR MURRAY: No, I do not; and I do not think that that was the intention, because the purpose there, in my opinion, is to permit them to spend their money on projects that have been improved and to continue the work which they have already undertaken and not to engage in entirely new and unstudied programs.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: I have no doubt that it was not the intention. Of course, Senator Murray would not have intended any such purpose, but you can judge a bill only by what it says. Judge Frank, you know that, in interpreting a law that comes before you in any contested case, you have to determine what the law says and not what somebody thought it says.

MR. FRANK: Fortunately, I do not have to construe bills.

Pritchett, isn't the real problem here how we are going to fit seven TVA's into existing governmental structure?

MR. PRITCHETT: That I think is an essential part of this problem. It could be handled in various ways, but with seven organizations it will have to be handled in some way. The problem is to preserve as much of the autonomy of each of these organizations as is possible, so that they can do the job our older "Model T agencies" have not been able to do. I recognize, however, that some measure of coordination among those agencies must be established. I am still not clear what that measure is, but I would not favor putting them in one of the regular federal departments. That, I think, would be doing something from which we are trying to get away.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: I was about to ask you whether you feel that in the regional authorities the work should be done by contract or should be done by the authority?

MR. PRITCHETT: The TVA pattern has been to do it directly. Other situations in other valleys might cause that pattern to be changed.

I prefer the first one a little, but I am sensible of the factors that might lead to the necessity of adopting the use of existing agencies, such as the Army engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, and so on.

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: Do you recognize the problem that arises in the Department of the Interior, which has the responsibility for administering these various Indian laws and public land laws in the very area in which the authority would be set up? Do you not think that the Department of the Interior ought to be coordinated into the regional authorities in those areas particularly in which the Department has jurisdiction?

MR. PRITCHETT: It certainly should. I do not think that that implies, however, the necessity of giving the Department of Interior responsibility for these new regional organizations.

MR. FRANK: Murray, what do you think are the chances of this program's going through Congress?

SENATOR MURRAY: The chances are very excellent, because the matter is being given very earnest study by every member of Congress. The absolute need of it, I think, is being impressed upon the whole country, because we are approaching the end of the war, and very shortly we will have a problem before us with reference to finding employment for millions and millions of new workers. We have to expand industry in the country, and the only place in which we can do it is out in these western areas where we have the space, and where we have the resources, and where we have the cheap power.

MR. FRANK: Would you agree, O'Mahoney, that this is likely to be enacted as legislation?

SENATOR O'MAHONEY: I want to point this out: That in the

minds of a great many people there is the thought that this system escapes popular sovereignty and that the bill should be so carefully drawn as to maintain individual freedom and local economic freedom.

MR. FRANK: In conclusion, we all seem to be agreed upon the essentials of the problem, and we feel that, in all likelihood, the difficulties can be ironed out.

Great rivers are giants, and all the Lilliputians must cooperate to tie these giants down. It will not do for a few pigmies to tackle a giant leg, and another few to tackle a giant arm. A flood of public opinion is eroding opposition to intelligent river control.

Murray emphasizes the regional coordinated aspect; O'Mahoney wants to preserve local rights; Pritchett leans to the TVA pattern, but he recognizes that it is essential to be aware of the difficulties caused by the creation of seven separate TVA's.

From our discussion today we can feel assured that something significant will result from America's discussion about the future development of its great river valleys.



The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without script, although participants meet in advance, prepare a topical outline, and exchange data and views. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company. The supplementary information in this transcript has been developed by staff research and is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE speakers.



More on This Topic

"America Has the Knowhow," *Survey Graphic*, August, 1944.

CHASE, STUART. *Rich Land, Poor Land: A Study of Waste in the Natural Resources of America*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936.

———. "What the TVA Means," *Reader's Digest*, October, 1944.

COGHLAN, RUTH and JEAN L. "For a Missouri Valley Authority," *New Republic*, September 4, 1944. Discusses the factors and problems involved in the creation of an MVA.

CRICHTON, KYLE. "One More River To Boss," *Collier's*, December 9, 1944. Says that the urgency of work on the Missouri Valley is a national issue.

DUFFUS, ROBERT, and KRUTCH, CHARLES. *The Valley and Its People*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. A finely illustrated story of what the TVA has done for the people of the "valley."

FINER, HERMAN. *The T.V.A.: Lessons for International Application*. Montreal: International Labour Office, 1944. A study of the TVA and the possibility of its application for other parts of the world.

HANSEN, ALVIN H., and PERLOFF, HARVEY S. *Regional Resource Development*. Washington: National Planning Association, 1942. Suggests a postwar plan for conservation and expansion by regions, particularly in regard to water supply, land use, and power as exemplified by the TVA.

LILIENTHAL, DAVID E. "Senator Norris and the TVA," *Nation*, September 23, 1944.

———. *T.V.A.: Democracy on the March*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1944. The director of the TVA discusses its accomplishments and suggests possibilities for the future.

LINDLEY, ERNEST K. "Who Will Harness the Rivers?" *Newsweek*, November 27, 1944. Discusses the problems faced by the MVA—reconciling the interests of the various states and deciding who would build the dams.

MURRAY, JAMES E. "World TVA's—New Frontiers for Peace," *Free World*, October, 1944. Senator Murray suggests world-wide use of the TVA principles.

NORRIS, GEORGE W. "TVA on the Jordan," *Nation*, May 20, 1944. Says that the principle of the TVA—preserving the natural resources of the country—is spreading to other parts of the world.

Personnel Administration in the Tennessee Valley Authority. "Management Services Report," No. 1. Tennessee Valley Authority, 1942. A report on the organization of personnel and a discussion of the effectiveness and efficiency of TVA policies.

PRITCHETT, C. HERMAN. *The Tennessee Valley Authority: A Study in Public Administration*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1943. A detailed study of the TVA and its meaning.

"Putting Our Rivers To Work: Nation-wide Plan for More TVA's," *United States News*, November 24, 1944. A summary of the proposals.

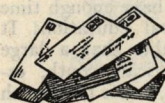
TERRAL, RUFUS. "Big Magic for the Big Muddy," *Survey Graphic*, September, 1944. Says that the Missouri Valley is becoming alive to its opportunity and is seeking a plan of action.

"Wanted: A Plan for the Big Muddy," *Scholastic*, October 23, 1944.



What Do You Think?

1. Are you in favor of the proposed program for seven new "TVA's" as a public works plan? What is its importance in creating wealth and preserving natural resources? What would be the program's role in providing postwar employment? Describe the plans for the new "TVA's."
2. Outline the importance of the Tennessee Valley Authority in relation to flood control, navigation, irrigation, power, and the like. Do you think that the TVA pattern should be followed in new valley projects? What are some of the important new problems that will be encountered in these projects?
3. What does one of the speakers mean when he describes the "grass-roots" character of the Tennessee Valley Authority? Is this, in your opinion, a good policy? How much centralization do you think is inevitable?
4. What kind of control, in your opinion, should be exercised over these projects? Do you agree with Senator O'Mahoney that definite limitations of power and guarantees should be written into the congressional act? Or would you say that congressional control of appropriations is the "most stringent" type of control?
5. Do you favor using the facilities of existing agencies—the Department of interior, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Department of Agriculture, the Army, and so on—for the development of the new valley projects? Or do you rather favor the establishment of completely separate agencies, located within each area, to manage each project? Is such a system "supergovernment"?
6. What are the world-wide implications of the principles of the Tennessee Valley Authority? Where would you suggest that "TVA's" might be built? How would such programs aid in rebuilding war-devastated areas?



The People Say . . .

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE audience on "Should We Have Universal Military Training in Peacetime?" broadcast November 26, 1944.

*

Congratulations!

Congratulations upon the remarkably fine discussion of peacetime conscription, this noon. It certainly covered a great deal of the arguments for and against the proposed conscription—and all that in thirty minutes!—*A listener from Wooster, Ohio.*

*

Great Interest

I listened to today's ROUND TABLE on universal military training with great interest. I thought that each speaker gave pertinent points, and I liked the summary which was concise and definite.

This would, indeed, be a wonderful world if all nations could be joined into a league for peace and if every nation would agree to disarm. That is a goal which is worth working for, and I hope that, when peace comes, we will not quit working.—*A listener from Prentice, Wisconsin.*

*

Cheered

Let me say, first, that I am most wholeheartedly in accord with Hutchins and Reeves. I did all but stand on a chair in the living-room and cheer loudly. I think that the negative side of the question needs considerable more discussion publicly than it has been getting. The press and the radio have been pretty much one-sided on

the subject up until now. They have adopted the time-worn tactic of shoving a law hurriedly down the throats of a relatively unsuspecting and unthinking populace under the guise of "we must."

In the second place, I also will agree on the one condition that we should have compulsory military training—if the powers persist in their idiotic policy of complacently and periodically carving up Europe with complete disregard for ethnic and economic factors. In that case, I too think that we had better have military training for our youth. They will need it.—*A listener from Clayton, Missouri.*

*

Soldier Support for "Secondary" Reasons

With regard to the claim that a poll taken in the Army has shown that two-thirds of the soldiers favor some form of peacetime military conscription, I would like to comment, without, of course, questioning in any way the truth of any statement of the War Department on the taking of a poll among the soldiers. I have been in the Army since July, 1941, and although it would be silly for me to hazard an opinion relative to the views of enlisted men on this proposal based only upon discussions which I have had with soldiers whom I know, I can state that few enlisted men who have informed me of their support of

the program indicate that this support is based upon anything except what Mr. Hutchins and Mr. Reeves have properly called the "secondary" aspects of the plan.—*A listener from Alexandria, Virginia.*

*

Timely

I considered your broadcast on total conscription a timely subject, and I believe that the ROUND TABLE could well use another program upon that subject. As I see it, the maintenance of American democracy hangs in the balance. If our higher education is to be controlled, whether directly or indirectly, by the undemocratic military, then we may as well forget the democracy which we have now.—*A listener from Wooster, Ohio.*

*

What about Training in World Economics?

I agree with Mr. Hutchins and Mr. Reeves that this is a subject which should be carefully considered, lest we make many more mistakes than we have in the past. Compulsory military training has not accomplished the desired effects in Germany or Japan, to say nothing of other smaller countries which have had it. If we, as a country, spent a part of the money necessary for military training on training in world economics, we would, I feel, accomplish more.—*A listener from Arlington, Virginia.*

*

Must Carry the "Big Stick"!

Even if military training should not, in itself, constitute any experiences that might be valuable in peacetime, surely a year spent therein would not wreck a man's career, be-

cause he would not have enough time to spend on general education! It seems not improbable that a large percentage of American youth, especially in the cities, waste that much time every five years in "activities" that are in no sense educational or valuable except for the temporary "thrill" they give. . . . We must have adequate military preparation or else try appeasement, and I do not think that we care for the latter. It never works! We owe it to ourselves and to the world to take up the "white man's burden," speak softly, and carry a big stick with several nails in it.—*A listener from Muncie, Indiana.*

*

The Problem of Service Selection

I was particularly interested in last Sunday's discussion. As a public-school administrator, I can foresee the impact of military training upon the high schools and colleges. I am, by nature, opposed to military training of a compulsory sort. I know that the details have not yet been worked out as witnessed by the testimony of the assistant secretary last Sunday. However, I believe that there is one advantage which might result from a system of compulsory military training, and that is one that would never be advanced by any Army or Navy men. If compulsory military training will result in an approximately fair placement of manpower so that the 1-A boy is put where he can use his physical gifts to the best advantage and the boy with other abilities be likewise rightly placed, then I think that I would be for military training. If compulsory training will bring the whole problem of service selection out into the open, I am for it. . . .—*A listener from Pelican Rapids, Minnesota.*

THE ROUND TABLE NETWORK

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY STATIONS

CARRYING THE ROUND TABLE

1:30 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilo-cycles	City	Call Letters	Kilo-cycles
Ashville, N.C.	WISE	1230	Manchester, N.H.	WFEA	1370
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450
Augusta, Me.	WRDO	1400	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	930	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, W.Va.	WGKV	1490	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Cumberland, Md.	WBTO	1450	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Easton, Pa.	WEST	1400	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Elmira, N.Y.	WENY	1230	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	York, Pa.	WORK	1350
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Lancaster, Pa.	WGAL	1490	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Lewistown, Pa.	WMRF	1490	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600

12:30 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Monroe, La.	KNOE	1450
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	North Platte, Neb.	KODY	1240
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Pittsburg, Kan.	KOAM	810
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Saginaw, Mich.	WSAM	1230
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Lake Charles, La.	KPLC	1490	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500	Wichita, Kan.	KANS	1240

11:30 A.M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	770	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Pocatello, Idaho	KSEI	930
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Prescott, Ariz.	KYCA	1490
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240

10:30 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Fresno, Calif.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Calif.	KFSD	600
Los Angeles, Calif.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			

STATIONS CARRYING ROUND TABLE BY TRANSCRIPTION

Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1450	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	San Francisco, Calif.	KPO	680

BY TRANSCRIPTION VIA SHORT WAVE

Anchorage, Alaska	KFQD	790	Juneau, Alaska	KINY	1450
Fairbanks, Alaska	KFAR	610	Ketchikan, Alaska	KTAN	930

TRANSCRIPT SUBSCRIPTIONS

ONE YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION.....\$2.00 SIX MONTHS'..... \$1.00

FOR SINGLE COPIES OF THE BROADCASTS LISTED BELOW SEND TEN CENTS IN COIN TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

LISTS

of 1940-42 Transcripts Still in Print Will Be Sent upon Request. Students and Teachers Will Find These Issues To Be Valuable Commentaries upon Events of the Period.

No. 1943

- 257. *Russia as an Ally in War and Peace*
- 261. *Education for Freedom*
- 263. *The Senate and Foreign Policy*
- 264. *Thomas Jefferson and the Meaning of Democracy*
- 273. *Requisites of a Durable Peace*
- 275. *Prices and Your Pocketbook*
- 278. *War and the Middle Class*
- 279. *Puerto Rico*
- 281. *America's Place in the World*
- 283. *The Domestic Front*
- 284. *The Meaning of the War*
- 288. *The Challenge of Government-owned War Plants*
- 292. *The Balkans*
- 294. *The Moscow Pacts: Issues and Problems*
- 295. *Post-war Air Policy*
- 296. *Should Subsidies Be Used To Hold Food Prices Down?*
- 298. *Two Years of War*
- 299. *The Four Powers Confer*
- 300. *Politics, Parties, and Issues: 1944*
- 301. *The Problem of Small Nations and Peace*

1944

- 312. *Dilemmas of U.S. Foreign Policy*
- 313. *Is It True about the Bureaucrat?*
- 316. *How Christians Should Think about the Peace*
- 318. *Foreign Policy and Party Politics*
- 319. *What Should Be British and American Policy toward International Monopolies?*

No.

- 322. *Can We Re-educate the Enemy?*
- 323. *The Vatican and Moscow*
- 325. *The Liberation of Europe*
- 326. *Small Business after the War*
- 328. *The American and Russian Economic Systems: How Do They Differ?*
- 329. *Issues Facing the Democratic Party*
- 330. *British Views on Postwar Economic Stumbling Blocks between U.S. and Britain*
- 331. *Should Labor Unions Aim for Political Power?*
- 332. *Japan*
- 334. *Needed: 20,000,000 Postwar Jobs*
- 335. *Peace as a World Race Problem*
- 336. *What Settlement for Germany?*
- 337. *What Is Russia's Peace Program?*
- 338. *Is Europe Going Left?*
- 339. *How Much Diplomatic Secrecy Is Necessary?*
- 340. *Britain, America, and the India Question.*
- 341. *Is the Inflation Danger Passed?*
- 342. *Can the American Economy Meet the Postwar Challenge?*
- 343. *Are the Candidates Facing the Issues?*
- 344. *What Should Be Done with German Industry?*
- 345. *What Was Accomplished at Dumbarton Oaks?*
- 346. *The Presidency*
- 347. *World-wide Freedom of News?*
- 348. *The Psychiatric Cost of War*
- 349. *Should We Have Universal Military Training in Peacetime? November 26*

Any Round Table Transcript May Be Purchased in Lots of 100 or More at Special Rates upon Request

Over a million copies . . .



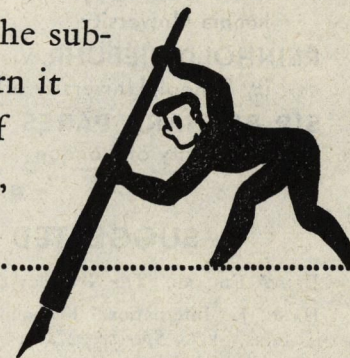
EACH SYMBOL REPRESENTS 100,000 COPIES

. . . . of the ROUND TABLE transcript have been sold to interested listeners and subscribers!



Join those who receive the transcript regularly

Fill out the subscription blank and return it to the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE, Chicago 37 Illinois.



I would like to receive the ROUND TABLE transcript regularly. Please enter my name on the subscription list—

- ☐ for six months at \$1.00
- ☐ for one year at \$2.00

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

- ☐ I am enclosing the correct amount
- ☐ Please send me a bill

A University of Chicago Round Table Broadcast

DECEMBER 10, 1944

Small Nations vs. Big Powers

•

ANTONIN BASCH, Department of Economics, Columbia University

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, Visiting Member of the Divinity School, University of Chicago

SIR BERNARD PARES, Department of History, University of London

•

SUGGESTED READINGS

BENEŠ, EDUARD. "The New Slav Policy," *Free World*, May, 1944.

HANC, J. "International Economic Cooperation and Small Nations," *Vital Speeches*, May 15, 1944.

MASARYK, JAN. "Czechoslovakia Looks East and West," *Free World*, March, 1944.

VAN CAUWELAERT, FRANS. "The Small European Nations after the War," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1944.

WOLFERS, ARNOLD. "In Defense of the Small Nations," *Yale Review*, winter, 1944.

**[PRINTED
IN U.S.A.]**