

THE PROBLEM OF ADMINISTRATION OF THE
MISSOURI VALLEY PROJECT

by

Edson Waite Sample

A Thesis

submitted to the faculty of the

Department of Economics

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Graduate College, University of Arizona

1956

Approved: Philip B. Hudson, August 9, 1956
Director of Thesis Date



1949
1946
1945

This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for an advanced degree at the University of Arizona and is deposited in the Library to be made available to borrowers under rules of the Library. Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgment of source is made. Requests for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this manuscript in whole or in part may be granted by the head of the major department or the dean of the Graduate College when in their judgment the proposed use of the material is in the interest of scholarship. In all other instances, however, permission must be obtained from the author.

SIGNED:

Edson W. Sample

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
FOREWORD	iv
I. THE MISSOURI RIVER BASIN AND THE PROBLEM	1
Location and size	1
Characteristics	2
Floods of 1943 and 1944	4
Needs	6
Policy decisions facing Congress	8
Problem	9
II. THE PICK-SLOAN COMPROMISE.	10
Pick plan	10
Sloan plan.	10
Interest of the Corps of Engineers.	12
Interest of the Bureau of Reclamation	12
Compromise: Pick-Sloan plan.	13
Agencies involved	15
Federal Inter-Agency Committee.	16
Missouri Basin Inter-Agency Committee	16
Public Affairs Institute Criticism	19
Hoover Commission Report.	20
General Pick on plan.	22
Representative Whittington on plan.	22
III. A MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY?	24
Clark bill.	24
Murray bills.	25
Proponents.	29
Reasons for establishing an MVA	30
Anti-authority reasons.	32
IV. OTHER PLANS FOR ADMINISTRATION	37
Hoover Commission recommendations	37
Interstate compact proposal	38
Regional departmental administrators.	42
Super-cabinet department.	42

Chapter		Page
V.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.	44
	APPENDICES	50
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	56

LIST OF TABLES

Number		
I.	MISSOURI RIVER AND OTHER FLOODS OF 1943.	4
II.	MISSOURI RIVER AND OTHER SPRING FLOODS OF 1944	5

FIGURES

I.	EXTENT OF THE MISSOURI BASIN AS SPOTTED ON THE MAP OF THE UNITED STATES	2
II.	SECTIONAL VIEW OF MULTIPLE PURPOSE DAM	14

FOREWORD

The Missouri River, often referred to as the "Big Muddy," to many people is only another river, but to those living in the basin it is a yearly problem. With its changing course it floods in the late spring and early summer and in the fall and winter it reduces its flow to very low levels. As a result of the devastating floods of 1944 particular attention has been paid to the river and its tributaries. The floods prompted the beginning of the Pick-Sloan plan in which various agencies of the federal government cooperating through the Inter-Agency Committee are now responsible for the over-all development of the basin. Many people believe this type of administrative organization, likened to a stone which when turned under the light sheds no satisfactory solutions, has proven to be an inefficient and inadequate method of dealing with the many-faceted problem of administration. In its place they would substitute a brighter gem--the Missouri Valley Authority. The controversy over the administration of the Valley projects is important, not only to the people of the Valley, but to the nation as a whole, as a precedent may be established for the development of the other great river systems in our nation. The problem of administration is one of a basic conflict of

politico-economic philosophy: liberalism vs. conservatism.

Under MVA there would be a single, unified management whereas the Inter-Agency Committee is a voluntary confederation of independent departments each with its own responsibilities.

This thesis shall consider this problem of administration.

CHAPTER I

THE MISSOURI RIVER BASIN AND THE PROBLEM

Beginning in Montana, the Missouri River makes its snake-like way from the Rocky Mountains to its mouth just north of St. Louis where it joins the mighty Mississippi River. The basin of the Missouri extends from the Canadian border on the north southward until it is half through Colorado, Kansas, and Missouri thereby encompassing all or parts of ten states.¹

The river and its tributaries comprise the drainage system of the Northern Great Plains and the fertile and humid portion of the Middle West and West South Central making it the largest watershed of the Mississippi's drainage system. The basin covers an area which is over 17.5 per cent of the United States--529,350 square miles.² Therefore, in area the basin is ten times the size of New York State.³

1. The ten states are: Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri.

2. C. Frank Keyser, Missouri Valley Authority, Public Affairs Bulletin No. 42 (Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service, 1946). Cited by Marian E. Ridgeway, The Missouri Basin's Pick-Sloan Plan (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1955), p. 47. (Original source not available.)

3. R. Lasch, "Why an MVA?" Atlantic; 175:72 (May 1945).

FIGURE I
EXTENT OF THE MISSOURI BASIN AS SPOTTED
ON THE MAP OF THE UNITED STATES⁴



Because of this great area it is a land of many contrasts for if one were to roughly divide the basin into three general areas--the east, the west, and the middle--one would find varying population densities, different economic interests,

4. Copy of map, Oscar F. Litterer, The Missouri Basin Development Program (Minneapolis: Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, 1953), p. 9.

and contrasts in climate and topography. The east has a moderately dense population settlement which includes such cities as Kansas City, Omaha, and Sioux City. And while not actually a basin city because of its location outside the drainage area, St. Louis is often considered as one of the cities of the basin because of its interest in the development of the Missouri. The basin's center of commercial activity, with its urban development becoming increasingly industrial in character, is to be found in this eastern area. Farming is of a diversified nature because the area is generally east of the 97th meridian, which is the generally accepted dividing line between the humid areas of the Middle West and the semi-arid and arid areas of the West, and rainfall east of the meridian is normally sufficient for diversified farming with an average of from twenty-five to forty inches a year. The topography of this eastern part is, for the most part, a flat or gently rolling land. The west zone, in contrast, is largely mountainous and is sparsely populated with few and minor towns. The economy of the area is based on mining and dry-farming because west of the 97th meridian the rainfall is small, ranging from three to thirty inches a year. The vast middle zone has a fluctuating population and relies chiefly upon specialized plains agriculture. Some other exploitative industries are developing, however, wherever the natural environment permits. To show vividly how the Missouri Valley

is a land of contrasts one needs only to look at the temperatures where highs of 117° are not uncommon and lows of -30° and -40° have been recorded.⁵

The river either gives man too much water and the public reads headlines like this: "Thousands homeless in Missouri River flood" or conversely it gives man too little water and the headlines appear thusly: "Drought toll mounts in Great Plains."⁶ Particular attention was drawn to the Valley in 1943 and 1944 because the floods of those two years were unusually severe. The following two tables compare the Missouri River system with the other large rivers in the nation.

TABLE I
MISSOURI RIVER AND OTHER FLOODS OF 1943⁷

Watersheds	Area Inundated (acres)	Reported Deaths	Estimated Damages
Missouri River basin	2,478,000	11	\$ 47,382,000
Illinois River basin	480,000	11	14,758,000
Upper Mississippi basin	465,000	15	27,517,000
Wabash River basin	918,000	10	23,016,000
White River basin	1,005,000	1	5,350,000
St. Francis River basin	86,000	0	50,000
Arkansas River basin	1,447,750	23	32,760,000
Red River basin	239,200	0	2,234,000

5. Marian E. Ridgeway, The Missouri Basin's Pick-Sloan Plan (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1955), p. 48 ff.

6. W. B. Arthur, "MVA: Its Background and Issues," Congressional Digest; 29:13 (January 1950).

7. Hearings, House Committee on Flood Control, 78th Cong., 2nd sess., 1944. U. S. Army Corps of Engineers Compilation, pt. II, p. 436.

TABLE II

 MISSOURI RIVER AND OTHER SPRING FLOODS OF 1944⁸
 (Preliminary Estimate of Flood Damages)

River Basin	Estimated Area Flooded, 1944 (acres)	Estimated Damages	Estimated Lives Lost
Mississippi River	1,069,700	\$ 28,789,000	12
White River	564,400	526,000	0
Arkansas River	1,254,400	12,834,000	10
Red River	2,250,000	1,400,000	0
St. Francis River	30,000	10,000	0
Yazoo River	700,000	1,600,000	4
Illinois River	65,000	2,046,000	0
Ohio River	715,000	3,540,000	3
Missouri River	1,555,000	31,000,000	2

In the floods of 1943 the Missouri River basin was by far the worst hit with over a million more acres inundated than its nearest rival, the Arkansas River basin, and approximately \$5 million more damage was done by the Missouri than by any other river in the nation. In 1944, while the area inundated by the Missouri and its tributaries was surpassed by the Red River basin, the estimated damages are the largest for the Missouri. The River on the average is responsible for flood damage of \$20,000,000 a year.⁹ When the river is in high flood it carries off every five minutes the topsoil equivalent to a 100-acre farm. Good earth--100,000,000 tons of it--go down

8. Hearings, "Flood Control Plans and New Projects," 78th Cong., 2nd sess., 1944, compiled by U. S. Army Engineers, p. 19.

9. Eli Winston Clemens, Economics and Public Utilities (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950), p. 651.

10

the river every year. The reason for this wasteful and destructive situation was explained in a speech by Brigadier General Samuel D. Sturgis, Jr., who succeeded General Lewis Pick as Missouri River division engineer for the Army when he stated:

It is a predominantly agricultural region with large areas of relatively steep slopes and lands relatively bare, thus greatly subject to erosion.¹¹

With the lowering water table over the United States and a growing population making increased demands for consumptive and industrial uses, plus the desirability of irrigation of farm lands, makes the surplus waters carried off by the river in flood season appear to be an enormous waste of a valuable natural resource.

The need for flood control is not the only one, the Public Affairs Institute lists nine others in addition. (1) At reasonable costs, irrigation should be available to the farmers of the basin. (2) Low-cost electric power as the power potential in the region is great. (3) Adequate transportation with resulting lower freight rates, improved navigation. (4) More industrialization with more development of

10. W. Price, "What you can Believe about MVA," Saturday Evening Post; 218:22 (January 19, 1946).

11. Richard G. Baumhoff, The Dammed Missouri Valley, One Sixth of Our Nation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 31.

mineral and phosphate deposits. (5) Soil conservation. (6) Abundant water for industrial and household use. (7) As the area is land-locked the lakes of the system would provide recreational facilities heretofore unknown in the area. (8) Reforestation and re-seedings and lastly, (9) Wild-life conservation. To this list can be added still another and that is the need for prevention of stream pollution; however, this will largely remedy itself with the development of the above listed projects.

The advocates of national planning and national resources development in the early 1800's were federal and anti-state in their position on water management. One hundred years later Theodore Roosevelt launched the national conservation movement largely through state governors. Roosevelt in 1907 appointed the Inland Waterways Commission to study the relation of the streams of the nation to natural resources conservation. So impressed with the serious need for action, the Commission recommended that the President call the White House Conference of Governors (the first such national Governors' Conference) to discuss the conservation problem. Later, in the 1930's, when Franklin Roosevelt started to revive the national conservation and planning movement, the Governors' Conference became

12. The Big Missouri: Hope of Our West (Washington: Public Affairs Institute, 1948), p. 4.

one of the sources of restraint upon the federal government. ¹³

In 1943, the nation was faced with an uncontrolled river which each year further reduced the remaining topsoil and did extensive flood damage along its course. The situation was such that some method had to be devised to develop the Missouri River basin. Congress was faced with these major policies to be decided. Should there be piecemeal flood control and irrigation constructions or over-all river development? Would it be better to have single control rather than divided control? Should a departure be made from the previously established policies regarding water legislation or follow the existing policies? Should the administration be by the existing agencies or by a new administrative agency in corporate form? Would it be advisable to place new federal restrictions on water usage or laissez-faire for the existing status quo in state water laws? Should the federal government further encourage inland navigation or provide no additional aid? Should flood control be at the cost of land reclamation and irrigation expansion? Given the inflation of the period, should construction be carried on on such a vast scale or should it be delayed until a slump period in the nation's economy? Should federal power production be expanded or should the private electric industry be encouraged?

13. Albert Lepawsky, "Water Resources and American Federalism," American Political Science Review, XLIV, No. 3 (September 1950), pp. 647-649.

Finally, should Congress proceed with river-by-river legisla-
tion or should it determine an over-all national river and
water policy?¹⁴

Whatever plan is adopted by Congress it will have to
preserve the rights of the states directly concerned with the
legislation while providing federal assistance. This situa-
tion is based on three problems of inter-governmental relation-
ships in dealing with water resource development: (1) the
problem of executive-legislative relationships and conflicts
under our congressional and presidential system, (2) the
problem of relating public management and private enterprise,
and (3) the problem of state, interstate, and federal-state
relationships.¹⁵ In 1944, a solution was sought to this
thorny situation but the solution derived has not ended the
controversy which simply is whether the Valley should be
developed by the existing federal agencies or by an authority
similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority.

14. Marian E. Ridgeway, op. cit., pp. 285 and 296.

15. Albert Lepawsky, op. cit., pp. 632 and 633.

CHAPTER II

THE PICK-SLOAN COMPROMISE

In May of 1943, Congress passed a resolution calling for a Missouri River review to determine flood control needs and the task was assigned to then Colonel Pick of the Army Corps of Engineers. The report contained what was described as a "flexible framework into which the plans of all other agencies, Federal, state, and local, could be fitted," and it was recommended that it be subject to modification from time to time as unforeseeable circumstances and events warranted.¹ The plan proposed a series of levees along the river's main stem above Sioux City to the mouth, a number of reservoirs on the main stem above Sioux City, and several reservoirs on the tributaries. The Pick plan, as it was called, of the Army Engineers was one that was chiefly concentrated on flood control and navigation, particularly in the lower part of the basin. Also, there was provision made for hydroelectric power production at the major dams.

While the report of Colonel Pick was being prepared the Bureau of Reclamation in the Department of the Interior was

1. Address by Colonel Delbert B. Freeman to the Nebraska Reclamation Association, First Annual Convention, Lincoln, Nebraska, January 20, 1945; reprinted in the Congressional Record, 79th Cong.; 1st sess.; p. A579.

preparing its own report as to the needs for river development. The Bureau's report which was authorized and begun in 1939 was under the direction of W. G. Sloan, an assistant engineer in the Billings, Montana, office of the Bureau. The Sloan plan emphasized irrigation and reclamation in the upper regions of the basin as well as accessory power production.

In spite of the awareness of the two agencies of each other's activities and the knowledge that the differences in the two plans needed resolution, the two agencies went their own ways and issued their own reports, each without any regard for the other. During 1944, it became evident that while all favored over-all development of the basin there were four more-or-less distinct groups each with their own idea as to how the valley should be developed. First, there were those who favored the Pick plan. These supporters were essentially of five kinds: (1) business groups of the lower basin as represented by the national and local chambers of commerce, (2) navigation and flood control groups, (3) wildlife conservationists, (4) the professional engineers of Missouri, and (5) industrial grouping concerned with flood control and navigation. The second of the camps were those supporting the Sloan plan. These supporters were located in the upper basin and arid land states of the West and were also of five kinds: (1) land and water users' associations, including the National Reclamation Association, (2) private associations promoting

area development, (3) local upper basin chambers of commerce, (4) agricultural organizations, and (5) states' rights spokesmen from areas other than the Missouri basin. The third group comprised proponents of a compromise of the Pick plan and the Sloan plan who, recognizing that neither of the two plans was a real solution to the problem, favored the compromise as a means of deterring the movement for an MVA. The fourth and last group was composed of those who adhered to the belief that neither plan, nor for that matter even a compromise of the two plans, was adequate, and that a special agency, such as an MVA or some other administrative device having centralized control with broad powers, ought to be created to deal with the problem.²

The interest of the Corps of Engineers was to maintain influence which was already considerable in national water activities. Also it wished to retain jurisdictional powers in river basin development for national defense purposes and to aid private companies by the allocation of some of the detailed work. The Reclamation Bureau's major interest in the Missouri Basin controversy was that it desired to maintain its position and jurisdiction in the arid land states, and perhaps even broadening it, if possible, by the projects which

2. Marian E. Ridgeway, The Missouri Basin's Pick-Sloan Plan (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1955), pp. 10; 215.

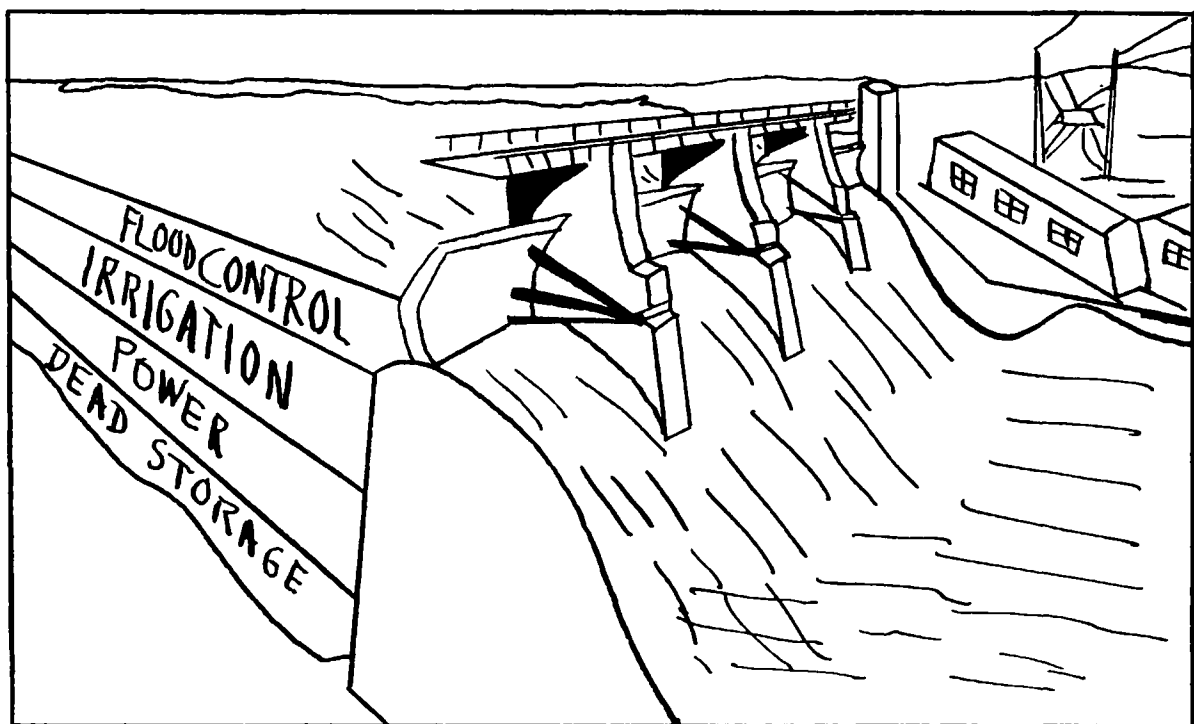
the development of the basin would provide.³ The Corps in this jurisdictional dispute, enjoyed the strong support of Congress, while, on the other hand, the Secretary of the Interior and the Bureau have received less consistent Congressional support and consequently they have sought to balance the advantage of the Corps by obtaining the support of the President and his Executive Office. As Arthur A. Maas of Harvard University has put it: "The general pattern may be expressed as follows: Corps of Engineers & Congress v. Secretary of the Interior & the Office of the President."⁴ This feuding was carried on for some time until suddenly Congress was flooded with proposals for a Missouri Valley Authority under which neither the Corps of Engineers nor the Bureau of Reclamation would have any jurisdiction at all. Upon the introduction of the MVA bills there was hurriedly called a meeting that was held in Omaha on October 16 and 17, 1944. The committee meeting was attended by two representatives each from the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. It issued a "joint engineering report" stating that "by making appropriate modifications" it would be possible to eliminate

3. Ibid., p. 136 ff.

4. Arthur A. Maas, "Congress and Water Resources," American Political Science Review, XLIV, No. 3 (September 1950), p. 581.

the existing differences between the two plans.”⁵ Actually it took only a few minor modifications to arrive at a compromise. The agreement states that the Engineers shall have full jurisdiction over main stem and tributary reservoir capacities for flood control and navigation purposes, that the Bureau shall have similar jurisdiction for irrigation capacities and that both agencies recognize the importance of hydroelectric power production.

FIGURE II
SECTIONAL VIEW OF MULTIPLE PURPOSE DAM⁶



5. S. Doc. 247, 78th Cong., 2nd sess., Nov. 21, 1944; Supplemental to S. Doc. 191 and H. Doc. 475. Cited by Marian E. Ridgeway, op. cit., pp. 96 and 97.

6. Copy of illustration. Oscar F. Litterer, The Missouri Basin Development Program (Minneapolis: Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, 1953), p. 9.

To meet these needs necessitated the construction of multiple purpose dams illustrated on the preceding page.

The Flood Control Act of 1944 provided for the joint development of the basin by the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation with the cooperation of certain other state and long-established Federal agencies. The following agencies are concerned with the program of development. The Corps of Engineers will have the responsibility for flood control, navigation, and electric power. The Department of the Interior will be concerned with irrigation and water supply through its Bureau of Reclamation and in connection with the Army Engineers, power development. Other divisions within the Interior Department will also be involved, such as: the Bureaus of Mines, Indian Affairs, Land Management, et. al. A third federal agency will be the Department of Agriculture and also interested will be the Federal Power Commission with a watchful eye regarding power supply and demand and checking plans to see that the maximum opportunity for power development is afforded. Concerned with economic and population surveys will be the Department of Commerce. Stream pollution will be handled by the Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency. Finally, and by no means the least important will be the work of the state governments through its various agencies, such work, for example, as the relocation of state highways

necessitated by the location of reservoirs.⁷ Thus was created the Pick-Sloan plan, sprawling over ten states, calling for 137 dams, 1,656 miles of levees and flood walls, a stable channel from St. Louis to Sioux City, and the cooperation of numerous federal and state agencies for the over-all development of the Missouri Valley.

The enactment of Congress provided no means of coordination among the various agencies and as the work in the valley progressed management needs and problems necessarily emerged which required additional machinery for their handling. To meet this situation the agencies themselves formed the Federal Inter-Agency River Basin Committee on December 29, 1943. The Committee met monthly in Washington and discussed and solved many of the problems which required joint action of the agencies of government. On March 25, 1945, the Federal Inter-Agency Committee formed the Missouri Basin Inter-Agency Committee. This new committee has been called a "unique governmental entity--without legal authority or appropriations in its own name."⁸ The Committee was set up as a field agency

7. Richard G. Baumhoff, The Dammed Missouri Valley, One Sixth of Our Nation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 172.

8. Karl Peterson, Jr., The Missouri Basin Development Plan, unpublished draft of pamphlet in preparation for the Missouri Basin Inter-Agency Committee, January 1951 (Mimeo.), p. 9. Cited by Marian E. Ridgeway, op. cit., p. 281. (Original source not available).

"to implement the policies and purposes" of the federal agency. It was to provide "a means through which the field representatives of the participating Federal agencies may effectively interchange information and coordinate their activities" in cooperation with the member states of the basin.⁹ The Committee, as it was originally organized, contained one member from each of the Departments of War, Agriculture, and Interior, and a member from the Federal Power Commission and four representatives from the states of the Valley. In 1947, a representative of the Department of Commerce was added as a fifth representative of the Federal government. There was, therefore, added another representative from the states in order to maintain the balance of Federal and state officials. This balance of Federal representatives with an equal number of representatives from the states is necessary because the Pick-Sloan plan calls for state participation in the planning process.¹⁰ The representatives of the states are governors from the basin and are chosen to serve on the Inter-Agency Committee by the

9. The Role of the Missouri Basin Inter-Agency Committee in the Missouri Basin Resources Development, explanatory paper issued by the Committee (Mimeo.), 1950. Cited by Marian E. Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, p. 282. (Original source not available).

10. Marian E. Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

Missouri River States Committee.

The Missouri Basin Inter-Agency Committee also meets once a month like its parent, but it meets in various places throughout the basin. At these meetings, which are always open to the public, various aspects of the Valley's development are considered. Everyone is given the opportunity to be heard, whether it be a local chamber of commerce representative, a businessman, housewife, clergyman, state legislator, or anyone. The committee serves as a sounding board for public opinion--the opinion of the people of the Valley--this is the democratic process at work at the grass-roots level. The people who are the most effected by the basin's development are given the opportunity to convey their sentiments. Also, during the meetings trips are taken to the nearby projects and inspections and observations are made. Recommendations are made to the individual agency of the representative and to the parent organization, the Federal Inter-Agency Committee, where appropriate action is taken. Effective work is being done under the Pick-Sloan plan by numerous Federal and state agencies cooperating through the Inter-Agency Committees. The Valley is being developed efficiently and as rapidly as Congress appropriates the necessary funds for the

11. The Missouri River States Committee was organized in July, 1942, as the Five-States Committee (later known as the Eight-States Committee) and has played a prominent role in the preliminaries and in all subsequent stages of legislation.

projects. Under the existing arrangement Congress knows when it is appropriating the nation's funds that they are going to be used as directed. The nation has in Congress an elected body to supervise and develop the nation as conditions warrant. Should the Pick-Sloan plan be scrapped?

One of the earliest criticisms of the Pick-Sloan plan appeared in a Public Affairs Institute publication, The Big Missouri: Hope of Our West. The sponsors were a number of recognized "New Dealers" and liberals who figured, from time to time, in the Roosevelt administrations or in the public affairs of the period.¹² The study outlined what it regarded as many unfinished tasks of an administrative nature, such as: The proper distribution of water between and among the various demanding groups; determination of the ultimate disposition to be made of the various proposed dams; the distribution of costs; use of the basin produced electric power; land protection, forestry, and recreation. The study even questioned the soundness of the engineering plans. The

12. Some of the sponsors of the Public Affairs Institute were: A. F. Whitney, President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; Morris L. Cooke, former administrator, REA; Morris L. Carmody, former director, Farm Security Administration; Theodore J. Kreps, professor of business economics, Stanford University; James G. Patton, president, National Farmers Union; Abe Fortas, former undersecretary of the Interior; Alvin Johnson, president emeritus, New School of Social Research, New York; Hubert Humphrey, then mayor of Minneapolis; Thurman Arnold, former Assistant Attorney General; Chester Bowles, former OPA administrator; Hugh B. Mitchell, former U. S. Senator from Washington; and others.

Institute's publication went on to list many unresolved problems of development and planning which could only be resolved, they thought, by a national water policy. First, whether reconciliation of the objectives of flood control, irrigation, navigation, and power production could be obtained by piecemeal systems of dams; second, how to protect the interests of farmers, businessmen, laborers, timber operators, and industrialists under valley programs, no matter who administered them. Third, determination of the extent to which state water rights should be shielded in the future. A fourth consideration was a means of reconciling the conflicts and rivalries between and among groups and localities; while still another were the possibilities for future growth of the western states. A sixth, was to study the effects of basin development upon the agricultural economy and finally, determination of the efficacy of the corporate form of authority for the handling of river basins.¹³ The majority of the problems appear to stem from the difficulty of attaining unified national administration of policy directives among all agencies when each goes its own way, pursuing its own objectives, under the multiplicity of existing laws.

The Hoover Commission's Task Force on Natural Resources denounced the Missouri River project in almost every

13. The Big Missouri: Hope of Our West (Washington: Public Affairs Institute, 1948).

particular. The plan was "not recommended as a pattern for similar development in other areas" because: (1) it had, in terms of the national interest, not been sufficiently evaluated; (2) because of the lack of basic data, planning was not undertaken in the proper order, operations had been commenced in the face of uncertainties; (3) organization for the program's administration lacked flexibility; (4) the only effective coordinating authorities were Congress and the President; (5) there was no complete program for the Valley as a whole; (6) the procedures left causes for future sectionalism; (7) the system of accounting was complex and difficult to understand; (8) doubt existed that the preference clause (O'Mahoney-Millikin amendments) would stand the test of constitutionality;¹⁴ and (9) full power development was a major omission since the plan projected use of only half of the power potential of the basin.¹⁵

The opposition to the Pick-Sloan plan believes that under the present system of planning, the water experts of all agencies of the Federal government do not cooperate to prepare reports on the best uses of water. Rather, they contend, the agencies undertake their own survey for which it assumes

14. The O'Mahoney-Millikin amendments were those giving the states a voice in water planning and restricted the uses to which water in the west could be put.

15. Marian E. Ridgeway, op. cit., pp. 297 and 298.

full responsibility. It may or may not call in experts from other agencies during the conduct of the survey and when the report is completed and tentative recommendations announced to local interests the report is referred to the other agencies for comment and the comment of the other agencies generally comes too late in the planning process for effective coordination.¹⁶ The major handicap to the Valley's development, as seen by some observers, is the conflict and the overlapping of federal laws and in the profusion of separate-purpose congressional committees. However, there is an effective coordinating body--the Missouri Basin Inter-Agency Committee--which is able to resolve many of the administrative problems. As General Pick has stated, he believes the Inter-Agency Committee:

is the greatest team ever assembled in the U. S. for the development of an area for the good of the people. All of our actions are a democratic process, open and above board. Everyone is given the opportunity to be heard. The people of the Valley don't want an authority. They want to work out their problems themselves in a spirit of genuine cooperation. Together, we are driving ahead to make the Missouri a river of gold for America. Our 17 objective is to put the river to work for the people.

Or as Representative Whittington has ably put it:

16. Arthur A. Maas, op. cit., p. 586.

17. General Pick's remarks quoted by: W. B. Arthur, "MVA: Its Background and Issues," Congressional Digest; 29:14 (January 1950).

When we have the Corps of Engineers at our disposal it simply doesn't make sense not to use them. Nor do I see why the Bureau of Reclamation should not carry on with its outstanding record of reclamation projects. It has not been used by the TVA any more than the TVA has used the Soil Conservation and Forest Services of the Department of Agriculture already in existence to do just such jobs as the TVA chose to do on its own.¹⁸

18. William M. Whittington, "Bureaucracy Rides the Rivers," Nation's Business; XXXIII (September 1945), p. 76.

CHAPTER III

A MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY?

On March 24, 1944, Senator Clark of Missouri introduced a bill calling for the creation of an administrative body patterned after the old Mississippi River Commission, a flood control agency. The bill stated:

In the interest of developing the natural resources of the Missouri River Basin there is hereby created a Commission to be known as the "Missouri River Commission" which shall be in the War Department and shall function in accordance with existing law under the direction of the Secretary of War and the supervision of the Chief of Engineers in planning, construction, operating, and maintaining improvements for navigation, flood control, generation of hydroelectric power, abatement of pollution, and allied purposes in the Missouri River Basin.¹

Under the provisions of the bill the Corps of Engineers would have virtually complete control over dam and reservoir management and the Bureau of Reclamation would have practically no authority in the development of the basin except for irrigation. The Senators were more or less cool to the proposal and when on November 27, 1944, the bill was considered, the western states' rights-reclamationist bloc of Senators

1. Hearings, Senate Committee on Commerce, on H. R. 4485, 78th Cong., 2nd sess., 1944, p. 414.

O'Mahoney, Millikin, and Wherry opposed the bill and successfully led a fight to defeat the Clark bill.

The next bill of importance was a bill introduced by Senator Murray of Montana on August 18, 1944, which was modeled after the TVA act. However, this bill was lost in committee. Senator Murray tried again for the establishment of an MVA when in conjunction with Representative Cochran of Missouri he introduced another MVA bill on February 15, 1945. The bill, if adopted, would have created a corporation of the authority type with a three-man commission. The directors of the board were to be appointed by the President and have nine year terms with the chairman designated by the President. The board was to have full power over the corporation's policy as set forth in the statute and the commission could if it desired consult with and request the assistance of any agency of the United States. When Senator Murray introduced the measure he expressed the desire that the bill be referred to the Committee on Agriculture because it was this committee which had handled the TVA legislation and the Senator thought the bill would have the best chances for survival if sent to this committee. The opponents of MVA wanted the bill referred to the Committee on Commerce which at that time handled navigation and flood control. Senator Murray lost in his wish and the Senate in an almost unprecedented action adopted a resolution referring the bill to three committees: the Committee

on Commerce, the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, and finally the Committee on Agriculture. It was first sent to the Committee on Commerce which within sixty days reported the bill out unfavorably. The committee recommended that the Corps of Engineers continue to direct the work of navigation improvement and flood control stating that:

flood control is not a Missouri regional problem any more than it is a local problem. Flood control is a Mississippi basin-wide problem, in which the Missouri River is only one of the tributaries. The flood control problem of the Mississippi basin can be solved only by federal control by one agency, with authority over the entire Mississippi basin. The agency best qualified for this task by experience and training is the United States Army Engineers . . . their record is conclusive evidence of their qualifications to carry out the flood control problem in the Missouri Valley.²

The committee also recommended that the Department of the Interior, which means the Bureau of Reclamation, do the necessary irrigation work in the Valley. Five months later the Committee on Irrigation reported unfavorably on the bill; therefore, there was no need for the Agriculture Committee to consider the bill because for all practical purposes the bill was dead.³

2. "Missouri Valley Authority Opposed by the Senate Commerce Committee," Engineering News-Record, CXXIV (May 10, 1945), p. 3.

3. Arthur A. Maas, "Congress and Water Resources," American Political Science Review, XLIV, No. 3 (September 1950), pp. 589 and 590.

An interesting note on the bill was the provision made for an advisory committee

which shall act in an advisory and consultative capacity upon such matters of broad policy as may be referred to it . . .⁴

This advisory committee seeking to supplant the method used under the Pick-Sloan plan was rather large. It would consist of seventeen persons, the heads of the Departments of Commerce, Interior, Agriculture, Justice, and War, the heads of the Federal Security Agency, the Federal Power Commission, and the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. In addition to these representatives of various agencies of the Federal government would be nine additional persons who were residents of the area. Three were to represent commerce, three to represent labor, and three to represent the agricultural segment of the area's economy. Another twist to this Murray bill was that any recommendations for the development of the basin should be submitted to both houses of Congress,⁵ and that Congress would have 120 days in which to consider the recommendations and if the recommendations are not disapproved by concurrent resolution within 120 days they would

4. Wesley C. Clark, "Proposed 'Valley Authority' Legislation," American Political Science Review, XL, No. 1 (February 1946), p. 64.

5. Ibid., pp. 65-67.

be considered effective. This provision would give to the authority a tremendous advantage in doing almost anything it wished and such a provision would put an even heavier burden on Congress, particularly with the negative approach to the arrangement.

The defeat of this bill still did not deter Senator Murray in his efforts to secure for the Valley an administrative machine patterned after TVA for in April of 1947, along with Senators Johnston, Pepper, Langer, and Taylor, he introduced another bill calling for an MVA. This bill to meet the demands for local participation was even stronger in these respects than the preceding bill. This new bill would require that two of the three directors of the corporation were to come from the Valley region and be citizens who had lived in the region for at least five years before their appointment. The authority was instructed in the act to:

utilize to the fullest possible extent the advice, assistance, and cooperation of the people of the region--local and state, as well as the advice, assistance, and cooperation of the existing operating agencies of the Federal government.⁶

To enable this to occur there would be created a twenty-man advisory board and of the twenty men, twelve were to come from the Valley representing commerce, agriculture, and labor.

6. The Big Missouri: Hope of Our West (Washington: Public Affairs Institute, 1948), p. 48.

The authority was also instructed to "give particular consideration to the general plans set forth" in the Army Engineers and Bureau of Reclamation plans of 1944. The water rights of the states were protected and irrigation had the preference in the Western states. The authority would be compelled to follow the reclamation law in regard to water users.⁷ In spite of all the provisions supposedly designed to protect the interests of the local people, the bill none-the-less failed to win the necessary support.

The proponents of the authority plan of administering the projects of the Valley are mainly found to be regional, Missouri, St. Louis, and other states' committees for an MVA, the National Farmers' Union, the AF of L-CIO, with the remainder of the support being scattered and stemming chiefly from certain minority and liberal groupings, including a few individuals speaking for themselves.⁸ There is no way, without data as to the total number of individuals represented by these groups, of determining the approximate extent of population actually represented by them. For example, the Regional Committee for an MVA claimed 25,000 signed members by September 21, 1945.⁹ Also, it claimed that it had the

7. Loc. cit.

8. For a list of the supporters of MVA see Appendix A.

9. Hearings, Senate Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, S. 555, 79th Cong., 1st sess., 1945, p. 204.

support of the Missouri Farmers Association which has a membership of approximately 86,000.¹⁰ It is doubtful that the MVA could actually claim the wholehearted endorsement of all of its members for the purposes of the Regional Committee. The effect of numbers upon proposed legislation is extremely difficult to appraise; however, while the appendices do not show national attitudes on the question, it does show group interests on the subject and the groups can be expected to play some role in the final policy determination. They cite the Tennessee Valley Authority as justification for the establishment of an MVA. It is the only Federal device they believe that has satisfactorily filled the common regional planning need for water and land resource development. They cite the success of TVA as a coordinating agency which focuses the efforts of many agencies in the development of all regional resources and opportunities. The proponents point to a regional entity with a life and spirit of its own, which

sees the valley at close range, understands it, and approaches its problems as parts of an interconnected whole.¹¹

The advocates of MVA give the basic principles of the TVA idea, as outlined by David Lilienthal, here summarized,

10. Ibid., p. 26.

11. R. Lasch, "Why an MVA?" Atlantic; 175:75 and 76 (May 1945).

emphasizing that it is only the application of the managerial principle to river problems. There would be, first, a federal agency which would be autonomous and which could make decisions in the region. Secondly, it would have the responsibility to deal with resources as a unified whole clearly fixed in the regional agency and this responsibility would then no longer be divided among several centralized federal agencies. Finally, it would be the policy, as fixed by law, that the regional agency would work cooperatively with and through local and state agencies.

The supporters also use as one of their chief inducements to gain added support--cheap and plentiful electric power. This aspect is not as highly emphasized in the Pick-Sloan plan as it would be with an authority. Under the Pick-Sloan plan only about half of the power potential available in the basin is or will be developed whereas an authority, no doubt, would exploit the power potential as much as possible in an effort to persuade the people of the Valley of the advantages of the authority.

An MVA, if established, the proponents would have all believe, would "eliminate red-tapeism, remote control, and piecemeal, wasteful methods." The story continues that it

12. Ralph Coghlin and Jean Lightfoot Coghlin, "For a Missouri Valley Authority," The New Republic, CXI, No. 10 (September 4, 1944), p. 268.

can bring to the task of basin development the "best abilities of both public and private enterprise" and including a good management principle--a single agency of management and that the agency could be held for the success or failure of the development program.¹³

Would the establishment of a Missouri Valley Authority be a panacea--a solution to all that ails the Missouri Valley? Is simply to transplant a similar TVA in the Missouri Valley all that is necessary to be done? But, is TVA a transferable formula? Anti-authority advocates question the efficiency of the authorities and the price paid for them.¹⁴ In all the MVA proposals there is seen a loss of political and economic freedom. If the trend is established toward authorities it is said that the forty-eight states will founder and we will have seven or nine or fourteen superstates.

When the governors of the Missouri Valley states took this to their people, they found that inevitably there was sentiment against a TVA or an MVA, on the theory that we didn't want to relinquish states' rights to some superstate set up by federal action.¹⁵

13. Rufus Terral, The Missouri Valley, Land of Drouth, Flood, and Promise (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), p. 207.

14. For a list of the anti-MVA groups and individuals see Appendix B.

15. Rufus Terral, "Big Magic for the Big Muddy," Survey Graphic, XXXIII (September 1944), p. 381. Quoting Merrel Q. Sharpe, then Governor of South Dakota.

As early as 1937, Senator Norris, in response to a plea by President Roosevelt for the blanketing of the country with valley authorities, introduced a bill calling for the creation of seven corporate conservation authorities.¹⁶ The authorities proposed were the: Atlantic Seaboard Authority, Great Lakes Ohio Valley Authority, Tennessee Valley Authority, Missouri Valley Authority, Arkansas Valley Authority, Southwestern Authority, and Columbia Valley Authority. The Missouri Valley Authority would include the drainage basins of the Missouri and Red River of the North and of the rivers flowing into the Mississippi above Cairo, Illinois, from the west.¹⁷ A valley authority would be a government corporation and would not, therefore, be controlled directly by the people whose lives it affects. Control is indirect, through the power of Congress to suppress them entirely or rewrite their charters. The people of the Valley, if a corporation were established, could not depend upon their representatives to Congress to carry out the wishes of the Valley people because of the differences within the Valley and the need for a majority of congressional support. As Representative Whittington has ably put it:

16. S. 2555, 75th Cong., 1st sess., June 3, 1937.

17. G. Lloyd Wilson, James M. Herring, Roland B. Eutsler, Public Utility Regulation (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938), p. 447.

I am opposed to the creation of a string of these Authorities, superbybureaucracies responsible to no one but themselves.¹⁸

The establishment of a series of authorities across the nation would create intense sectionalism. Each valley region would attempt to gain all that it could, probably at the sacrifice of another regional development. If the United States were to become blanketed with authorities the nation would have to be extremely careful not to lose sight of the inter-regional interests and conflicts which will certainly arise when we split the job of resource development among the different valley authorities. There would be needed an administrative organization, national in scope, divorced from particular valley authority allegiance, which could make the administrative adjustments necessary and suggest to Congress changes in policy that would certainly be needed from time to time. Therefore, if the concept of valley authorities for valley development becomes the standard, then the only agency capable of performing the task--the executive office--will have to be revamped so that it will have the administrative machinery to administer efficiently and adequately and there appears to be little possibility of this happening.¹⁹

18. William M. Whittington, "Bureaucracy Rides the Rivers," Nation's Business, XXXIII (September 1945), p. 33.

19. Charles McKinley, "The Valley Authority and Its Alternatives," American Political Science Review, XLIV, No. 3 (September 1950), pp. 619 and 620.

Representative Whittington was concerned about the effect of valley authorities on the Corps of Engineers and, therefore, on the national defense. The TVA did not use the Corps in any of its enterprises, as generally the authorities plan to use their own engineers. The Corps of Engineers is thereby deprived of its traditional means of obtaining training and experience that is essential in times of war.²⁰

There is another position held by some that further development should be in the hands of private enterprise in cases of power generation and sale.

If any system of development similar to TVA is ever constructed on the Missouri River, it should be by private enterprise. There is entirely too much government in business. Private business is entitled to any of the benefits to be derived from power generated on our rivers. So far as Colorado is concerned it would strongly favor private enterprise in the development of electric power on the Missouri River as against unwarranted and unfair encroachments of the federal government in this connection.²¹

Richard Baumhoff lists six major objections to the establishment of an MVA:²²

- (1) MVA would be a new and objectionable 'super-government' with autocratic authority.

20. William M. Whittington, op. cit., p. 33.

21. Rufus Terral, op. cit., p. 381. Citing John C. Vivian, then governor of Colorado.

22. Richard G. Baumhoff, The Dammed Missouri Valley, One Sixth of Our Nation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 270.

- (2) It would threaten the sovereignty of the states and encroach on their jurisdictions.
- (3) It would be a new step toward socialism, a surrender of democratic rights and checks.
- (4) It would put the government into business more than ever--especially in the power business.
- (5) It would disrupt established and time-tried methods of operation and interfere with accepted methods of financing and of dealing with Congress and federal departments.
- (6) The region is accustomed to dealing with the existing agencies and does not want to upset the mutual understanding with them.

An MVA is not a new engineering plan, nor does it offer any new methods of soil conservation, nor for irrigation, nor for the generation of electric power. There is no question as to the plan for the development of the Missouri Valley which is the Pick-Sloan plan and there is no question as to whether planning and building should be done, the question is how and by whom? The present method of developing the Valley through the Inter-Agency Committees does have some serious drawbacks, but is the creation of a Missouri Valley Authority the best solution?

CHAPTER IV

OTHER PLANS FOR ADMINISTRATION

In 1949, the Hoover Commission, in order to solve the problems created under the operation of the Pick-Sloan plan, recommended the creation of a new Water Department Service. The proposal would group together the functions now performed by the Bureau of Reclamation, the Bonneville Power Administration, and the Southwest Power Authority, with the civilian functions of the Corps of Engineers. All of these functions would be organized within the Department of the Interior. The House of Representatives approved calling for these changes to be made with no outright exemptions. The Senate did likewise, but the Senate bill made the provision that any reorganization plan submitted by the President could not become law if vetoed by a constitutional majority of only one House. This was one of the maneuvers executed by the supporters of the Army Engineers who stated that they would forego outright exemption for the Corps only if Congress would agree to their plan of a one-House veto. The supporters were certain that any proposed plan to transfer the Corps could not get through Congress under those conditions. Also, to make sure that future changes in the complexion of Congress

would not alter this situation, they provided that the bill¹ expire at the end of President Truman's term of office.

The plan carrying these provisions was defeated as the supporters of the Army Engineers and other special agencies knew that it would. The plan would have centralized certain of the operations of the various agencies by taking various departments and transferring them to the Department of the Interior for direction. This would give a central body for over-all development within each basin and also would have aided in the possibility of securing a general plan of development for all the basins needing projects throughout the United States.

An interstate compact has been suggested as a satisfactory alternative to meet the needs of the Valley and still perform the tasks of administration without the creation of a Missouri Valley Authority. The commission, created by the compact, would be responsible not only to Congress and the President, but also to the people of the Valley. The advantages of the interstate compact approach to the problem were outlined by Frederick L. Zimmerman and Mitchell Wendell in their book on The Interstate Compact Since 1925.

1. Arthur A. Maas, "Congress and Water Resources," American Political Science Review, XLIV, No. 3 (September 1950), pp. 587 and 589.

- (1) The interstate compact is potentially the most useful procedure for interstate adjustment because it embodies agreement and permits creative adjustment.
- (2) The interstate compact supplies stability for projects that should not be left to the goodwill of individual administrators who retire, resign, or die and are succeeded by others whose views may lead them in other directions.
- (3) The formality of an interstate compact does not necessarily imply awkwardness or rigidity because its shape is influenced by the desires of the parties, and its content is determined by the problem to be solved.
- (4) Its advantages rest on its legal strength and flexibility; its binding character, its enforceability through original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and its superior and overruling position with respect to state statutes.
- (5) It bridges the jurisdictional gaps and at the same time provides flexibility in the integration into the laws of the acting governments since the compact is a single document uniform in all states, incorporated into their laws, and necessarily remaining uniform until changed by joint action. The compact is also set forth in national consent legislation as may be necessary to adapt federal laws to the interstate agreement.²

The governors of the basin states in 1952 considered the proposal for the establishment of a Missouri River Basin Compact which made provision for a Missouri River Basin Commission. The movement, however, for the establishment of

2. A River Commission for the Missouri Basin vs. an MVA (Jefferson City: Missouri State Chamber of Commerce, 1952), p. 5.

such a commission has withered away as the support for an MVA has lessened. The Commission would not only include representatives from the states of the basin but also would include representation of the federal government. The Commission would be organized so as to:

- (1) integrate the programs and operations in the fields of agriculture, industrial and recreational development of the basin through a unified inter-governmental program for the management, conservation, storage, utilization and development of the land and water resources of the basin.
- (2) eliminate the causes of present and future controversy by securing effective federal and interstate coordination among the governments of the states.³

As it was proposed the Commission was to be composed of one commissioner from each basin or party state. There would also be, representing the federal government, three to five commissioners appointed by the President. Each member state would be entitled to one vote and the federal commissioners would be entitled to a vote equal to the total number of votes of the commissioners of the party states who were present at that particular meeting. The proposal for a commission also stipulated that it would require at least three quarters of the total votes cast for the commission to take any binding

3. Ibid., p. 2.

action.⁴ If the interstate commission were established it would be designed so as to:

- (1) encourage a comprehensive and unified program of land and water management in the Missouri Basin.
- (2) Provide for participation by both state and federal governments.
- (3) be amenable to the wishes of the majority of the people in the concerned states.⁵

The biggest advantage to the interstate commission is that while the federal government is participating in the planning and execution of the projects, the states have an equal voice in the decisions of the commission. There could be some difficulty in the establishment of the commission because of the necessity of the state legislatures having to approve the compact as well as Congress and for comprehensive development of the basin all of the legislatures of the basin states would have to belong to the compact. Then, too, once the compact were established there might be difficulty in changing it should the occasion arise. But the machinery, in the form of the commission, would exist for the planning, execution, and operation of Valley projects.

4. Excepting the election of commission officers and the director which would require only a majority vote.

5. A River Commission for the Missouri Basin vs. an MVA (Jefferson City: Missouri State Chamber of Commerce, 1952), p. 2.

Still another suggestion has been advanced which would extend the departmental structure in the field. This plan would abolish in the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture the present line-authority bureaus and create regional departmental administrators who would take charge of all the resource bureaus having field operations. The traditional Bureaus would then become of the nature of staff status. The regional departmental administrator would then be responsible for planning, programming, budgeting, controlling, and operating, thereby correlating, in so far as the field operations are concerned, the two departments.⁶ A variation of this plan would be the creation of a super-cabinet department which would be able to command the services of all the bureaus and departments concerned with the development of the Valley. The bureaus of the departments would be reduced to a functional staff relationship for servicing the Valley Authority units through the super-cabinet chief. To put this into operation would necessitate four steps of structural change. First, the departmental structures would have to be regrouped so as to give more coherent and unified operating agencies. Second, the decentralized regional field services would be more generally used. Third,

6. Charles McKinley, "The Valley Authority and Its Alternatives," American Political Science Review, XLIV, No. 3 (September 1950), p. 624.

completion of the intra-departmental coordination arrangements in the field and in Washington. Finally, in each regional area would have to be located a representative of the Office of the President who would report to a Resources Service Division which would lead the interdepartmental planning and capital budget programming of resource development on a region-wide basis.⁷ There would be so many changes necessary to implement this arrangement that, however good it might be, there is little possibility of its being adopted.

7. Ibid., p. 630.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The present method of administering the projects of the Missouri River Basin by the two Inter-Agency Committees is the result of the Pick-Sloan compromise and obviously has some defects. The committees have no legal standing, per se, and are voluntary confederations of the various agencies of government interested in the development of the region. Each individual agency still is seeking to further its position in the Valley and in Washington. This desire of self-perpetuation and enlargement is not at all uncommon in the American governmental agency arena and is to be expected, but the present arrangement is rather loose and responsibility divided and decisions are slow in the making. Despite these weaknesses of the compromise arrangement there is something to be said for the Pick-Sloan plan. Work in the Valley is being done, projects are under way, the states are actively participating in the planning process. As of August, 1955, thirty-seven dams had been completed or were in the process of being built, 328 miles of levees and floodwalls had been built, and a stable channel from St. Louis to Sioux City was a reality. By the end of 1955, the U. S. will have spent

\$2.5 billion in bringing the Missouri under control. This does not take into account the activities of other agencies and bureaus nor the state governments.¹

The people of the Valley are interested in the development of the basin and are engaging in the democratic process by expressing themselves before the Missouri Basin Inter-Agency Committee. Congress is able to legislate and appropriate funds so that over-all basin-wide activity is carried on and Congress is able to develop the rivers and resources of the nation as the needs arise. The Pick-Sloan plan has many adherents who believe as former Senator Fred Seaton,

The Pick-Sloan plan, which was first adopted in 1944, is thoroughly adequate so far as taking care of the Missouri Basin and its flood situations is concerned.²

When the subject of a Missouri Valley Authority is raised, temperatures and tempers are likely to be raised also, for proposals for the adoption of an MVA are among the most controversial in the country. The establishment of a Missouri Valley Authority would improve upon the present system of administration by providing a central unified agency responsible for basin-wide development. But this single agency

1. "U. S. Masters the Big Muddy," Life, 39 (August 22, 1955), p. 22.

2. "Senator Seaton on Flood Control," American Mercury, 74:91 (June 1952).

would be a governmental corporation whose activities are difficult to control and even then control does not come from those persons affected most by its activities. The authority would be another bureaucracy, patterned after TVA, and with independent autocratic authority. Public sentiment is strongly against MVA as Lachlan Macleay, President of the Mississippi Valley Association expressed it.

The fact is that the overwhelming majority of the people of the Missouri Basin are opposed to an MVA. Their reasons are:

- (1) They want flood control, soil conservation, irrigation, navigation, and power development as soon as these benefits can be obtained. Under the Pick-Sloan Plan construction has already begun. If Congress provides the funds the program can be completed in five years.
- (2) They believe that a regional authority is a dangerous step on the road to socialism. Democracy depends upon local representation, and upon the recognition of the rights of local governmental units. It would be stifled under an autocratic superstate, whose directors would be responsible to no one but themselves.
- (3) They believe that the Army Engineers, the reclamation bureau, the department of Agriculture, and the Federal Power Commission, with years of experience, are fully qualified to do the job.³

And as Representative Whittington put it:

3. Lachlan Macleay, rejoinder to the article "Stop Floods with MVA," (Christian Century, 64:923-925), appearing in Christian Century, 64:1209 (October 8, 1947).

I am not opposed to the flood control or reclamation objectives with the development of incidental hydroelectric power, which are the aims of the promoters, but I am opposed to the mushrooming plan of new bureaucracies.⁴

The idea of an MVA has wilted considerably because of the distrust of the Valley people and because the Eisenhower administration has had the inclination of leaving this kind of development to the initiative of the state and local governments. Also, the MVA idea has not advanced as far as it would like because of the activities of the existing agencies themselves.

People in the Missouri Valley like it this way. As a close observer of the basin project says: "If efficiency is lost by splitting the development work among many agencies, the fact remains that their potential for abusing their control of water remains limited and piecemeal, too."⁵

The Hoover Commission report, though it has many merits, would entail so many structural changes in the existing framework that it is next to impossible that it will be adopted now or anytime soon. The agencies that would be affected by the proposed transfer of functions can be expected to put up a battle to maintain the jurisdictions they

4. William M. Whittington, "Bureaucracy Rides the Rivers," Nation's Business, 33:33 (September 1945).

5. "Missouri Valley Project Goes on While Politicians Debate," Business Week, March 20, 1954, p. 125.

now possess, particularly the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation as can be seen by the maneuverings of the supporters of the Army Engineers in Congress.

Another alternative to an MVA which stands more of a chance of adoption is the proposal for an interstate compact. This would create a commission which would be composed of both state and federal representatives and could perform the same functions as an authority and yet be responsible to both the states and the federal government--a desirable attribute. There could be some difficulty in getting the compact adopted by all the states in the basin, However, if the Pick-Sloan plan should fail and there is a revived movement for an MVA, this stimulus would be sufficient that the interstate compact plan would receive serious consideration if not prompt adoption.

The final plan studied in this thesis which calls for regional departmental administrators also necessitates a structural change unlikely to occur. The creation of a super-cabinet officer is likewise too radical a change to be expected to receive enough support to be adopted.

Four things may happen. First, the Hoover Commission report regarding resources development could possibly be adopted. Second, MVA might finally win out if enough public support could be generated behind it. Third, the Missouri Basin Inter-Agency Committee could be reorganized and

legalized as to provide a more adequate and efficient administrative agency. Or, lastly, things could continue as now. Of these four things happening the last two are the most probable with the last holding the advantage. Projects are under way in the Valley and progress is being made. The people in the region do not wish this disturbed, which would be the case if some other plan were instituted. States' rights feeling is strong and the fear of socialism is present-- further strong deterring forces working against the change of the existing method of administration.

The American people, however, will ultimately have to face squarely the problem of administration of the great river basins of our nation. The next river basin likely to be tackled is that of the Arkansas. River bank stabilization has already begun, plans of projects are on the drawing boards --do Americans want a repeat performance of TVA or the continuance of the organizational pattern established by the Pick-Sloan plan? America must decide. How it decides will effect not only the people of the basins, but all the citizens of the nation as well as their children.

APPENDIX A

INDIVIDUALS, GROUPS, ORGANIZATIONS PRO-MVA¹

Regional Committee for an MVA
 Missouri Committee for an MVA
 St. Louis Committee for an MVA
 Kansas Committee for an MVA
 Nebraska Committee for an MVA
 Iowa Committee for an MVA
 South Dakota Committee for an MVA
 North Dakota Committee for an MVA
 Montana Committee for an MVA
 Colorado Committee for an MVA
 Wyoming Committee for an MVA
 National Farmers Union
 Montana Farmers Union
 Missouri Farmers Association
 North Dakota Farmers Union
 Missouri State REA
 Missouri Farmers Union
 Great Northern Turkey Cooperatives, Inc. (Minot, North Dakota;
 cooperatives in Minnesota, North and South Dakota,
 Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana.)
 Kansas City Building and Construction Trades Council
 National Congress of Industrial Organizations
 Missouri State Industrial Council, CIO
 Electrical Workers Union of Kansas City
 United Electric, Radio, and Machine Workers, CIO, St. Louis.
 International Brotherhood of Electric Workers, Local 124,
 Kansas City
 Trades and Labor Assembly of Sioux City, Iowa
 American Federation of Labor
 Missouri State Federation of Labor
 Nebraska State Federation of Labor
 Missouri Department of the Veterans of Foreign Wars
 Missouri Branch of the National Association for the Advancement
 of Colored People
 St. Louis Chamber of Commerce
 Plaza Bank of St. Louis
 Citizen's petition from Warwick, North Dakota
 Council for Social Action of the Congregational Church

1. Marian E. Ridgeway, The Missouri Basin's Pick-Sloan Plan (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1955), p. 261.

Commission for Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church

Individuals (who may or may not have been aligned with the Regional Committee for an MVA):

Hubert Humphrey, Mayor of Minneapolis

C. E. Childe, Consultant, Senate Small Business Committee

Morris L. Cooke, former administrator, REA

Joseph Kinsey Howard, newspaperman, author, of Montana

Senator James E. Murray

C. Herman Pritchett, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago

Claude B. Ricketts, Missouri State Senator

APPENDIX B

INDIVIDUALS, GROUPS, ORGANIZATIONS ANTI-MVA¹

Mississippi Valley Association
 National Rivers and Harbors Congress
 American Waterways Operators, Inc.
 Missouri Valley Development Association
 Upper Mississippi Waterway Association (Minneapolis)
 Upper Mississippi and St. Croix Rivers Improvement Commission
 (Stillwater, Minnesota)
 Upper Missouri Valley Association (Yankton, South Dakota)
 Associated General Contractors of America
 Co-ordinating Committee of National and Regional Land and
 Water Organizations: National Rivers and Harbors
 Congress, Water Conservation Conference Continuing
 Committee, National Reclamation Association, Mississippi
 Valley Association, Atlantic Deeper Waterways Associa-
 tion, Mississippi Valley Flood Control Association,
 Arkansas Basin Flood Control Association, Ohio Valley
 Conservation and Flood Control Congress, Ohio Valley
 Improvement Association, Eastern States Conservation
 Conference, Interstate Commission on the Delaware River
 Basin, Intracoastal Canal Association of Louisiana and
 Texas, Florida Waterway Congress, Texas Water Conservation
 Association; Department of Public Works, State of
 Louisiana; Trinity Improvement Association, California
 Water Council; American Waterways Operators, Inc.;
 Tri-State Authority, Upper Mississippi Waterways Asso-
 ciation, Allegheny River Improvement Association;
 American Merchant Marine Institute, Inc.; American
 Power Boat Association; Atlantic and Gulf Canals Asso-
 ciation, Inc.; Missouri Valley Development Association,
 Natural Resources Department of the U. S. Chamber of
 Commerce, New York State Waterways Association, Propeller
 Club of the United States, Pacific Northwest Development
 Association, Pittsburgh Coal Exchange, Upper Mississippi
 and St. Croix River Improvement Commission, Upper
 Missouri Valley Association
 National Association of Electric Companies
 St. Joseph (Mo.) Chamber of Commerce

1. Marian E. Ridgeway, The Missouri Basin's Pick-Sloan
 Plan (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1955),
 pp. 257-261.

Scottsbluff (Neb.) Chamber of Commerce
 Gering (Neb.) Chamber of Commerce
 Livingston (Mont.) Chamber of Commerce
 Miles City (Mont.) Chamber of Commerce
 Salida (Colo.) Chamber of Commerce
 Kalispell (Mont.) Chamber of Commerce
 Missoula (Mont.) Chamber of Commerce
 Butte (Mont.) Chamber of Commerce
 Sidney (Mont.) Chamber of Commerce
 Pueblo (Colo.) Chamber of Commerce
 La Junta (Colo.) Chamber of Commerce
 Denver Chamber of Commerce
 Twin Falls (Idaho) Chamber of Commerce
 Idaho Falls (Idaho) Chamber of Commerce
 Pocatello (Idaho) Chamber of Commerce
 Idaho State Chamber of Commerce
 Burley (Idaho) Chamber of Commerce
 Kansas City (Kans.) Chamber of Commerce
 Kansas City (Mo.) Chamber of Commerce
 Duluth Chamber of Commerce
 Civic and Commerce Association, Inc. (Fergus Falls, Minnesota)
 Billings (Mont.) Commercial Club
 Hartington (Neb.) Chamber of Commerce
 Ponca (Neb.) Commercial Club
 Winner (S. Dak.) Commercial Club
 Gregory (S. Dak.) Commercial Club
 Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce
 Bozeman (Mont.) Chamber of Commerce
 Central Montana Chamber of Commerce
 Sioux City (Iowa) Chamber of Commerce
 Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association
 Kalispell (Mont.) Kiwanis, Rotary, and Lions Club
 Kiwanis Club of Filer, Idaho
 National Reclamation Association
 South Dakota Reclamation Association
 North Dakota Reclamation Association
 Montana Reclamation Association
 Washington State Reclamation Association
 Kansas Reclamation Association
 Wyoming Reclamation Association
 Oregon Reclamation Congress
 Idaho Reclamation Association
 Nebraska Reclamation Association
 Fresno Irrigation District (Fresno, California)
 Arkansas Valley Ditch Association (Pueblo, Colorado)
 Colorado River Water Conservation District
 Northern Colorado Water Conservancy District (Greeley,
 Colorado)
 Rio Grande Water Users Association

Southwestern Idaho Irrigation Projects Association
 Boise Valley Irrigation Ditch Company
 Fall River Irrigation District (St. Anthony, Idaho)
 New Lavaside Ditch Company (Blackfoot, Idaho)
 Siebenbery Cooperative Ditch, Ltd. (Canyon County, Idaho)
 Boise-Kuna Irrigation District (Boise Valley, Idaho)
 Wilder Irrigation District (Caldwell, Idaho)
 Gem Irrigation District (Homedale, Idaho)
 Big Lost River Irrigation District (Mackay, Idaho)
 Snake River Water Users (Idaho Falls, Idaho)
 Boise River Water Users
 Southwest Idaho Water Conservation Project
 Republican Valley Conservation Association (McCook, Nebraska)
 Gering and Fort Laramie (Neb.) Irrigation District
 Texas Water Conservation Association
 Hidalgo (Tex.) County Water Control and Improvement District
 No. 1
 Utah Water Users Association District No. 2 (Ogden City, Utah)
 Lower Hanover Canal Association, Inc. (Worland, Wyoming)
 Hanover Irrigation District (Worland, Wyoming)
 Tulare Lake (Calif.) Basin Water Storage District
 Yellowstone Basin Association
 Big Horn Water Users Association
 Kings River Water Association (Fresno, California)
 Vermont State Water Conservation Board
 Colorado Water Conservation Board
 St. Francis Levee District (West Memphis, Arkansas)
 Missouri River States Committee
 Sioux City (Iowa) Municipal Government
 Omaha (Neb.) Municipal Government
 Board of Commissioners (Johnson County, Wyoming)
 Wyoming State Government
 Board of Commissioners (Buffalo County, Wyoming)
 Kansas State Board of Agriculture
 Montana State Water Conservation Board
 Board of County Commissioners (Powder River County, Montana)
 Board of County Commissioners (Rosebud County, Montana)
 Miles City (Mont.) City Council
 Board of County Commissioners (Custer County, Montana)
 Board of Water Commissioners (City and County of Denver)
 Board of County Commissioners (Washakie County, Wyoming)
 Montana Farm Bureau Federation
 Minnesota Farm Bureau Federation
 Nebraska Farm Bureau Federation
 Nine Mile Farm Bureau (Huson, Montana)
 Missoula (Mont.) County Farm Bureau
 Isaac Walton League of America
 Colorado Society of Engineers
 Cheyenne (Wyo.) Engineers Club

Wyoming Engineering Society
 Wyoming Section of the American Society of Engineers
 Independence (Mo.) Daughters of the American Revolution
 Chief Ignace Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution
 (Kalispell, Montana)
 Women's Club of Missoula, Montana
 Navy Mothers Club 101 (Kalispell)
 Western Montna Fish and Game Association (Missoula, Montana)
 Flathead Sportsmen's Association (Kalispell, Montana)
 Western Wild Life League (Billings, Montana)
 Wyoming Agricultural Council
 Greater South Dakota Association
 Montana Stockgrowers Association, Inc. (Helena, Montana)
 Upper Columbia Association (Missoula, Montana)
 Orchard Homes Country Life Club (Missoula, Montana)
 Blackfoot Valley Stockmen's Association (Greenough, Montana)
 Flathead Valley Citizens Committee (Kalispell, Montana)
 Dude Ranchers Association (Billings, Montana)
 Montana Bankers Association, Executive Council (Helena,
 Montana)
 Montana Bankers Association, Group III (Missoula, Montana)
 Montanans, Inc.
 Montana Taxpayers Association
 Montana Hotel Association
 Montana Wool Growers Association
 Montana Retail Lumbermen's Association
 Montana Automobile Association
 Montana Implement and Hardware Association
 Mining Association of Montana
 Montana Automobile Dealers Association
 Associated Merchants of Montana
 Montana Wild-Life Federation
 Manson Commission Company, St. Louis
 Sioux City Grain Exchange
 W. L. Johnson Construction Company, Columbus, Ohio
 Hevner Serum Company, Franklin, Nebraska
 Jerome (Idaho) Grange No. 210
 Buhl (Idaho) Grange No. 214
 Hamilton Lodge No. 48, I. O. O. F. (Hamilton, Montana)
 Rocky Mountain Grange No. 116 (Grantsdale, Montana)
 Flint Creek Local No. 522 (National Farmers' Union, Hall,
 Montana)
 Flathead Pomona Grange (Kalispell, Montana)
 Veterans of Foreign Wars, Post 2252, (Kalispell, Montana)
 Tobacco Valley Grange No. 119 (Libby, Montana)
 U. S. Department of the Interior and the agencies contained in it
 U. S. Corps of Engineers
 U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources Cited

Books

- Baumhoff, Richard G., The Dammed Missouri Valley, One Sixth of Our Nation. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.
- Clemens, Eli Winston, Economics and Public Utilities. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950.
- Ridgeway, Marian E., The Missouri Basin's Pick-Sloan Plan. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1955.
- Terral, Rufus, The Missouri Valley, Land of Drouth, Flood, and Promise. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947.
- Wilson, G. Lloyd, Herring, James M., Eutsler, Roland B., Public Utility Regulation. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938.

Periodical Articles

- Arthur, W. B., "MVA: Its Background and Issues," Congressional Digest; 29:13-14 (January 1950).
- Clark, Wesley C., "Proposed 'Valley Authority' Legislation," American Political Science Review; 40:62-70 (February 1946).
- Coghlin, Ralph and Coghlin, Jean Lightfoot, "For a Missouri Valley Authority," The New Republic; 61:266-268, (September 4, 1944).
- Lasch, R., "Why an MVA?" Atlantic; 175:72-76 (May 1945).
- Lepawsky, Albert, "Water Resources and American Federalism," American Political Science Review; 44:631-649 (September 1950).

- McKinley, Charles, "The Valley Authority and Its Alternatives," American Political Science Review; 44:607-631 (September 1950).
- Maas, Arthur A., "Congress and Water Resources," American Political Science Review; 44:576-593 (September, 1950).
- Macleay, Lachlan, rejoinder (to the article: "Stop Floods With MVA," Christian Century; 64:923-925), Christian Century; 64:1209-1210 (October 8, 1947).
- "Missouri Valley Authority Opposed by the Senate Commerce Committee," Engineering News-Record; 124:677 (May 10, 1945).
- "Missouri Valley Project Goes on While Politicians Debate," Business Week; March 20, 1954, 120-122.
- Price, W., "What you can Believe About MVA," Saturday Evening Post; 218:22-24 (January 19, 1946).
- "Senator Seaton on Flood Control," American Mercury; 74:90-91 (June 1952).
- Terral, Rufus, "Big Magic for the Big Muddy," Survey Graphic; 33:376 (September 1944).
- "U. S. Masters the Big Muddy," Life; 39:21-27 (August 22, 1955).
- Whittington, William M., "Bureaucracy Rides the Rivers," Nation's Business; 33:31 (September 1945).

Government Publications

- Litterer, Oscar F., The Missouri Basin Development Program. Minneapolis: Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, 1953.

Pamphlets

- The Big Missouri: Hope of Our West. Washington: Public Affairs Institute, 1948.
- A River Commission for the Missouri Basin vs. an MVA. Research Report No. 18. Jefferson City: Missouri State Chamber of Commerce, 1952.

Miscellaneous

Freeman, Colonel Delbert B., Address to the Nebraska Reclamation Association, Reprinted in the Congressional Record, 79th Congress, 1st session.

U. S. House of Representatives, Committee on Flood Control, Hearings, 78th Cong., 2nd sess., 1944.

U. S. Senate, "Flood Control Plans and New Projects," Hearings, Senate Committee on Commerce, H. R. 4485, 78th Cong., 2nd sess., 1944.

U. S. Senate, Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, Hearings, S. 555, 79th Cong., 1st sess., 1945.

Sources Consulted, Not CitedBooks

- Barnes, Irston R., The Economics of Public Utility Regulation. New York: Crofts & Co., 1942.
- Burns, James Mac Gregor, Peltason, Jack Walter, Government by the People, 2nd ed. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1954.
- Graves, W. Brooke, American State Government. Boston: D. C. Heath, 1953.
- Mosher, William Eugene, Public Utility Regulation. New York: Harper and Bros., 1933.
- Thompson, C. Woody, Smith, Wendell R., Public Utility Economics. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1941.
- Trachsel, Herman Henry, Public Utility Regulation. Chicago: R. D. Irwin, 1947.
- Troxel, Emery, Economics of Public Utilities. New York: Rinehart, 1947.
- Wilson, George Lloyd, Public Utility Regulation. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938.

Periodical Articles

- "Army, Interior Department Reach MVA Agreement," Electrical World; 72:9 (November 18, 1944).
- Bashore, H. W., "Regional Development of the Missouri Basin," Civil Engineering; 14:461-464 (November 1944).
- "Basin States Act to Avoid Authority," Farm Journal; 77:93 (January 1953).
- Baumhoff, R. G., "Dam the Missouri Floods?" Nation; 174: 398-399 (April 26, 1952).
- Begemen, J., "Misery on the Missouri," New Republic; 126: 13-14 (April 28, 1952).

- Burman, B. L., "Wild Missouri," Readers' Digest; 66:109-113 (January 1955).
- Coffey, Max, Excerpts from a series of articles which appeared in the Omaha (Neb.) World Herald; March 13-20, 1949. Congressional Digest; 29:13-14 (January 1950).
- Cooke, Morris L., "Who shall Boss the MVA?" New Republic; 112:498 (April 16, 1945).
- "Differences are Reconciled in Missouri River Plans," Engineering News-Record; 83:603 (November 16, 1944).
- Duffus, William L., Raver, Paul J., "The Place of the Government Corporation in the Public Utility Industries," Land Economics; 25:29 (1949).
- Elwood, P. H., "Missouri Valley Compromise--Regional Council or Advisory Board to Coordinate Plans and Programs of both Federal and State agencies," American City; 60:112-113 (October 1945).
- Heidenheimer, A. J., "Lesson of the Flood," New Republic; 125:8-9 (July 30, 1951).
- Howard, Joseph Kinsey, "Golden River: What's to be Done About the Missouri?" Harper's Magazine; 87:511 (January 1938).
- "Its Changing Its Ways," Business Week; October 16, 1954, pp. 96-98.
- Kirschten, E., "From TVA to MVA," Christian Century; 62:649-651 (May 30, 1945).
- Kirschten, E., "MVA: Stalled but not Stopped," Nation; 163:183-184 (August 17, 1946).
- "Land of the Big Muddy," Time; 60:36-45 (September 1, 1952).
- "Missouri Valley: Vast Development Coming," Business Week; December 25, 1948, pp. 22-23.
- Moley, R., "Domesticating Big Mo," Newsweek; 41:100 (April 6, 1953).
- "Muddy Missouri," Commonweal; 54:374 (July 27, 1951).
- "No Great Flood in Tennessee Valley," Christian Century; 69:483 (April 23, 1952).

- Pick, Lewis, "How to Stop Floods," U. S. News; 32:26 (April 25, 1952).
- Pope, James P., "Proposed Missouri Valley Authority Opposed by Midwest Organizations," Engineering News-Record; 83:736 (December 14, 1944).
- Pritchett, C. Herman, "Administration of Federal Power Projects," Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics; 18:379 (1942).
- "Progress on the Big Muddy," Time; 63:86 (March 29, 1954).
- "Shape of Things," Nation; 174:394 (April 26, 1952).
- Short, John A., "Coordinating Planning in the Missouri Valley: The Osage Basin," State Government; 21:207 (October 1948).
- "Task of Flood Control," Commonweal; 56:165 (May 23, 1952).
- "The Missouri Valley," Fortune; 49:59 (August 1949).
- Tripp, T. A., "Stop Floods with MVA," Christian Century; 64:923-925 (July 30, 1947).
- "TVA was Only the Beginning," Fortune; 40:75 (May 1949).
- "Water Shortage," Business Week; January 29, 1955, p. 29.