

September 2, 1940

[Chickamauga Dam]

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Gro. People, Gov. Powers, Mrs. & Mrs. C. Morgan
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SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

CHICKAMAUGA DAM

SEPTEMBER 2, 1940

United States in the
Valley of the
River.

When I first passed this place, after my election
but before my Inauguration as President, there flowed here
a vagrant stream, sometimes shallow and useless, sometimes
turbulent and in flood, always dark with the soil it had
washed from the eroding hills. This Chickamauga Dam, the
sixth in the series of mammoth structures built by the
Tennessee Valley Authority for the people of the United
States, is helping to give to all of us human control of
the watershed of the Tennessee River in order that it may
serve in full the purposes of men.

The chain of man-made inland seas may well be
named "The Great Lakes of the South". Through them we are
celebrating the opening of a new artery of commerce, new
opportunities for recreation, relief from the desolation
of floods, and new low cost energy which has begun to flow
to the homes and farms and industries in seven American States.

This national holiday -- Labor Day -- has been appropriately selected, because in the miracle that man has wrought, labor has played a vital role. In all these seven years, in heat and in cold, men have drilled and blasted through solid rock, they have poured ton after ton of concrete and they have moved mountains of earth. They have worked with the strength of their hands, and they have operated complicated machinery with every modern skill. Never once, in this the biggest consolidated construction job ever undertaken directly by the national Government, has there been a substantial interruption to the continuance of your labors. This Dam, all the dams built in this short space of years, stand as a monument to a productive partnership between management and labor, between citizens of all kinds working together in the public weal. Collective bargaining and efficiency have proceeded hand in hand. It is noteworthy that the splendid new agreement between organized labor and the Tennessee Valley Authority begins

with the words "The public interest in an undertaking such as the TVA always being paramount . . .".

It is appropriate, therefore, that we recognize this signal achievement on the day when the whole nation pays tribute to labor's contribution to the democracy which we are now preparing to defend. To all of you, therefore, -- all of you who have contributed to make these structures possible throughout this beautiful Valley -- I extend the Nation's thanks.

The only note of sorrow that can properly be sounded on a great day like this lies in the misplaced emphasis which so many people have put on the objectives of the Government in building up this great Tennessee Valley project. It was at a Press Conference, which I held at Warm Springs, Georgia, in January, 1933, after visiting the Valley with that splendid fighting American, Senator George Norris, of Nebraska, that I put his vision and mine into words. For many years, in different parts of the Nation, I have been interested in what I called the problem of better land use,

a problem which necessarily had to include existing facts
of harmful land use.

In the watershed of the Tennessee River, therefore,
I had come to consider the facts of devastating floods which
had existed for many generations -- floods that washed away
houses and roads and factories; floods that took great tolls
of human lives -- floods which threatened the very security
of Chattanooga itself and of many other communities on this
river, on the Ohio and on the Mississippi.

I had studied the washing away of the wealth of soil
on the main stem of the river, on its many main tributaries,
and up in the creeks and hills in the higher valleys. I
had seen water commerce impeded by shoals and by winding
variable channels. I had understood the waste of potential
hydro-electric energy.

I had seen forests denuded or burned -- but worst
of all, I had seen the splendid people living in parts of
seven States fighting against nature instead of with nature.

Being of a practical turn of mind, I asked for figures relating to losses and figures to show the cost of stopping these losses.

My memory is that the engineers told me that from floods alone the average annual damage in the Tennessee Valley was about \$25,000,000; that the top soil carried to the sea by annual floods averaged another \$25,000,000 worth; that better farming and forestry could produce at least \$25,000,000 a year more; and, finally, that a saving of \$25,000,000 could be made by providing for and insisting on cheaper electric rates and a wider distribution of power. In other words, the complete development of the objectives of the Tennessee Valley Authority would save or, in other words, gain for the people of the watershed \$100,000,000 a year.

On the other side of the ledger -- the cost side -- we would have to figure on a total final investment of about \$500,000,000, including, of course, the taxes and amortization on the amount spent through a series of years --

and including incidentally no watered stock. This total sum of dollars was to be spent for three major benefits. The first related to the control of the water for better navigation, for the building of lakes, for the prevention of erosion and for the development of power. The second objective we had was the building back of soil fertility through research into phosphate fertilizers, the use of nitrate plant life and the diversification of crops, and the reforesting of millions of acres of land. The third objective was to improve the social and economic life of these citizens with their cooperation -- to plan with them for a greater diversification of human effort, to make a richer farm life, to add new industries, to give employment, and to bring a larger return in cash each year to the average of our families.

Today we see the progress that we have made, that we are making, and that we propose to continue to make.

We have come far along the road. In this Valley, as in the Nation, we do not propose to abandon the goal that is directly before our eyes either by sitting down or by going back.

These splendid changes have not come by compulsion -- for thousands of farmers and thousands of towns people have met together in the common effort. They have debated and discussed. Participating in the processes of their Government they have altered the looks of their towns. They have added fertilizer to their soil. They have improved their industries. No farmer was forced to join this conservation movement. No workman was compelled to labor here under onerous conditions, or for less than a rightful wage. No citizen has lost a single one of these human liberties we prize so highly in this democracy. This is a demonstration of what a democracy at work can do, of a people uniting in a war against waste and insecurity.

There were and are those who maintain that the development of this enterprise is not a proper activity of Government. As for me, I glory in it as one of the great social and economic achievements of our time.

Today we are facing a time of peril unmatched in the history of the nations of all the world. And because we are undertaking the total defense of our Nation, the Tennessee Valley region has assumed, in addition to its own domestic betterment, its share of responsibility for national defense.

Already, and several years ahead of our carefully planned schedule, we are creating new plants which of necessity will use more power. I am glad, indeed, that in spite of partisan opposition, the Congress of the United States has overwhelmingly voted the necessary funds. That money is now at work.

New defense industries are more safe from attack in this region behind the mountains than if they were located on our more exposed borders. It is, therefore, good for our safety to develop further and to use the natural resources and the man power of this region. In that development, let us always remember that we must and shall retain the great gains that have been made for human social security in recent years. We propose, indeed, not to retain them alone but to improve and extend them. Most assuredly we are determined neither to repeal them nor weaken them.

We understand now what we did not understand in 1917 and 1918 --- that the building up of Army and Navy equipment and the training of men to use it ought not to result in a waste of our natural resources, and at the same time ought not to break down the gains of labor or the maintenance of living wages.

We are seeking the preparedness of America, not
against the threat of war or conquest alone, but in order
that preparedness be built to assure American peace that
rests on the well-being of ^{the} American people.

~~Let us~~, therefore, today dedicate this Dam and
these lakes to the benefit of all the people, the
prosperity they have stimulated, the faith they have
justified, the hope they have inspired, the hearts that
they encourage -- the total defense of the United States
of America.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Big. mudj lake

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered at the Chickamauga Dam Celebration
Atop Chickamauga Dam near Chattanooga, Tennessee
Monday, September 2nd, 1940, 10.00 A.M.

GOVERNOR COOPER, GOVERNOR RIVERS, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, CHAIRMAN MORGAN AND MEMBERS OF THE TENNESSEE
VALLEY AUTHORITY, AND YOU, THE GOOD PEOPLE OF TENNESSEE AND OF THE
OTHER SIX STATES THAT ABUT THIS GREAT VALLEY:

I am glad to come here today, especially because I took
part in the laying of the cornerstone of this dam some years ago.

When I first passed this place, after my election but before
my Inauguration as President, there flowed here, as most of us remember,
a vagrant stream, a stream sometimes shallow and useless, sometimes
turbulent and in flood, always dark with the soil it had washed from
the eroding hills. This Chickamauga Dam, the sixth in the series of
mammoth structures built by the Tennessee Valley Authority for the
people of the United States, is helping to give to all of us human
control of the watershed of the Tennessee River in order that it may
serve in full the purposes of (men) mankind.

(The) This chain of man-made inland seas may well be named
"The Great Lakes of the South." Through them we are celebrating the
opening of a new artery of commerce, of new opportunities for recrea-
tion, -- I see all these new power boats right here, almost at my feet
as I speak -- we are celebrating relief from the desolation of floods,
(and) we are celebrating new low-cost energy which has begun to flow
to the homes and farms and industries in seven American states.

This national holiday -- September second, Labor Day -- has

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

~~MY TO YOU ENOUGH TO LEAVE YOU BUT MY THE ATTENTION TAKES~~

~~: WILLIAM THOMAS HAD YOUR TALK WITH MR. RHOADES~~

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been appropriately selected, because in the miracle that man has wrought, labor has played a vital role. In all of these seven years, in heat and in cold, men have drilled and blasted through solid rock, they have poured ton after ton of concrete and they have moved mountains of earth. They have worked with the strength of their hands, and they have operated complicated machinery with every form of modern skill. Never once in these years, never once in this the biggest consolidated construction job ever undertaken directly by the national Government, never has there been a substantial interruption to the continuance of your labors. This Dam, all the dams built in this short space of years, stand as a monument to (a) the productive partnership between management and labor, between citizens of all kinds working together in the public weal. Collective bargaining and efficiency have proceeded hand in hand. It is noteworthy that the splendid new agreement between organized labor and the Tennessee Valley Authority begins with the words "The public interest in an undertaking such as the TVA (always being) is paramount...."

It is appropriate, therefore, that we recognize this signal achievement on the day, Labor Day, when the whole nation pays tribute to labor's contribution to the democracy (which) that we are now preparing to defend. To all of you, therefore, -- all of you who have contributed to make these structures possible throughout this beautiful Valley of the Tennessee -- to all of you I extend the Nation's thanks.

The only note of sorrow that can properly be sounded on a great day like this, perfect in its scenery, perfect in the crowd that has come here today, perfect in our weather, but the only note

of sorrow that can be sounded lies in the misplaced emphasis (which) that so many people have put on the objectives of the Government in building up this great Tennessee Valley project. It was at a Press Conference (which) that I held at Warm Springs, down in Southwest Georgia, away back in January, 1933, after (visiting) I had visited the Valley with that splendid fighting American, Senator George Norris, of Nebraska, (applause) it was way back there, more than seven years ago, that I put his vision and (mine) my vision in(to) words. For many years, in different parts of the Nation, I have been interested in what I had called, already in 1933, the problem of better land use, a problem (which) that necessarily had to include existing facts (of) relating to harmful land use.

In the (watershed) Valley of the Tennessee River, therefore, I had come to consider the facts of devastating floods (which) that had existed for many generations -- floods that washed away houses and roads and factories, floods that took great tolls of human lives -- floods (which) that threatened the very security of Chattanooga itself and of many other communities on this river, on the Ohio River and (on the) even down in the lower reaches of the Mississippi River.

I had studied the washing away of the wealth, the wealth of soil on the main stem of the river, on its many (main) mountain tributaries, and up in the creeks and hills in the higher valleys. I had seen water commerce impeded by shoals (and), by winding variable channels. I had understood the waste of potential hydroelectric energy.

Yes, I had seen forests denuded or burned -- but worst of all, in I had seen the splendid people living/parts of (seven) several states fighting against nature instead of fighting with nature.

Being of a practical turn of mind -- some people say I am part Scotch and part Dutch and therefore ought to be a being with a practical turn of mind -- I asked for figures relating to losses and figures to show the cost of stopping (these) the losses.

My memory is that the engineers told me that from floods alone the average annual damage in the Tennessee Valley was about \$25,000,000. a year; that the top soil carried to the sea by annual floods averaged another loss of \$25,000,000. (worth) a year; that better farming and better forestry could produce at least \$25,000,000. a year more; and, finally, that a saving of \$25,000,000. could be made by providing for and insisting on cheaper electric rates and a wider distribution of power. (Applause) In other words, the complete development of the objectives of the (Tennessee Valley Authority) T.V.A. would save or, in other words, gain for the people of the watershed \$100,000,000. a year.

And, on the other side of the ledger -- the cost side -- we would have to figure -- I am going back to the figures of seven years ago that have proved pretty accurate -- we would have to figure on a total final investment of about \$500,000,000., including, of course, the taxes (and), the amortization on the amount spent through a series of years -- and including, incidentally, no watered stock. (Applause) (This) That total sum of dollars was to be spent (for) on three major benefits. The first related to the control of the water for better navigation, for the building of lakes, for the prevention of erosion (and), for the development of power. The second objective we had was the building back of soil fertility through research into phosphate fertilizers, the use of nitrate plant life and the diversification of

crops, and the reforesting of millions of acres of land. The third objective was to improve the social and the economic life of these citizens and, incidentally, improve it with their cooperation -- to plan with them for a greater diversification of human effort, to make a richer farm life, to add new industries to our towns and villages, to give employment, and to bring a larger return in cash (each) every single year, a larger return of cash to the average of our families.

Today (we see) you and I are seeing the progress that we have made, the progress that we are still making, and, incidentally, the progress that we propose to continue to make. We have come very far along (the) this particular road. In this Valley, as in the Nation, we do not propose to abandon the goal, the goal that is directly before our eyes, abandon it either by sitting down or by going back.

These (splendid) fine changes we see have not come by compulsion -- for thousands of farmers and thousands of townspersons have met together in the common effort. They have debated it and they discussed it. Participating in the processes of their Government -- State Government, local Government, Federal Government -- they have altered the looks of their towns and their counties. They have added fertilizer to (their) the soil. They have improved their industries. No farmer was forced to join this conservation movement. No workman was compelled to labor here under onerous conditions, or for less than a rightful wage. No citizen has lost a single one of these (human) liberties that we prize so highly in this democracy. And so (This) that is a demonstration, it is a demonstration of what a democracy at work can do, of what a people uniting in a war against

waste and insecurity can and propose to do.

There were, of course, and are those who maintain that the development of (this) an enterprise that lies wholly in this State, that the development of it is not a proper activity of Government. As for me, I glory in it as one of the great social and economic achievements of (our time) the United States.

Today, my friends, we are facing a time of peril unmatched in the history of the nations of all the world. And because we are undertaking the total defense of (our) this Nation of ours, the Tennessee Valley region has assumed, in addition to its own domestic betterment, its share of responsibility for national defense.

Already, and several years ahead of our carefully planned schedule, we are creating new plants which of necessity will use more power. I am glad, indeed, that in spite of partisan opposition, the Congress of the United States has overwhelmingly voted the necessary funds. And that money is now at work. (Applause)

New defense industries are more safe from attack in this region behind the mountains than if they were located on our more exposed borders. (It is) And, therefore, it is good for our safety to develop further and to use the natural resources and the man power of this region. In that development, let us always remember that we must and shall retain the great gains that have been made for human social security in recent years. We propose, indeed, not to retain them alone but to improve and extend them. Most assuredly we are determined neither to repeal them nor (to) weaken them. (Applause)

We understand too, we understand now what we did not understand in 1917 (and) -- 1918 -- that the building up of Army and Navy

equipment and the training of men to use it ought not to result in a waste of our natural resources, and at the same time ought not to break down the gains of labor or the maintenance of a living wage(s).

We are seeking the preparedness of America, not against, not against the threat of war or conquest alone, but in order that preparedness be built to assure American peace that rests on the well-being of the American people. (Applause)

(Let us) I, therefore, today, on this very happy occasion, dedicate this Dam and these lakes to the benefit of all the people, to the benefit of the prosperity that they have stimulated, the faith they have justified, the hope that they have inspired, the hearts that they encourage -- the total defense of the people of the United States of America. (Applause)

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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SePTemBeR 1, 1940

The following address of the President to be delivered at the Chickamauga Dam Celebration is for release in newspapers appearing on the streets not earlier than 10:00 a.m., C.S.T., Monday, September 2, 1940.

The same limitation applies to the use of this speech by radio broadcasters or radio news commentators.

Please safeguard against premature release.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

When I first passed this place, after my election but before my Inauguration as President, there flowed here a vagrant stream, sometimes shallow and useless, sometimes turbulent and in flood, always dark with the soil it had washed from the eroding hills. This Chickamauga Dam, the sixth in the series of mammoth structures built by the Tennessee Valley Authority for the people of the United States, is helping to give to all of us human control of the watershed of the Tennessee River in order that it may serve in full the purposes of men.

The chain of man-made inland seas may well be named "The Great Lakes of the South". Through them we are celebrating the opening of a new artery of commerce, new opportunities for recreation, relief from the desolation of floods, and new low cost energy which has begun to flow to the homes and farms and industries in seven American States.

This national holiday -- Labor Day -- has been appropriately selected, because in the miracle that man has wrought, labor has played a vital role. In all these seven years, in heat and in cold, men have drilled and blasted through solid rock, they have poured ton after ton of concrete and they have moved mountains of earth. They have worked with the strength of their hands, and they have operated complicated machinery with every modern skill. Never once, in this the biggest consolidated construction job ever undertaken directly by the national Government, has there been a substantial interruption to the continuance of your labors. This Dam, all the dams built in this short space of years, stand as a monument to a productive partnership between management and labor, between citizens of all kinds working together in the public weal. Collective bargaining and efficiency have proceeded hand in hand. It is noteworthy that the splendid new agreement between organized labor and the Tennessee Valley Authority begins with the words "The public interest in an undertaking such as the TVA always being paramount....".

It is appropriate, therefore, that we recognize this signal achievement on the day when the whole nation pays tribute to labor's contribution to the democracy which we are now preparing to defend. To all of you, therefore, -- all of you who have contributed to make these structures possible throughout this beautiful Valley -- I extend the Nation's thanks.

The only note of sorrow that can properly be sounded on a great day like this lies in the misplaced emphasis which so many people have put on the objectives of the Government in building up this great Tennessee Valley project. It was at a Press Conference, which I held at Rome Springs, Georgia, in January, 1935, after visiting the Valley with that splendid fighting American, Senator George Norris, of Nebraska, that I put his vision and mine into words. For many years, in different parts of the Nation, I have been interested in what I called the problem of better land use, a problem which necessarily had to include existing facts of harmful land use.

In the watershed of the Tennessee River, therefore, I had come to consider the facts of devastating floods which had existed for many generations -- floods that washed away houses and roads and factories; floods that took great tolls of human lives -- floods which threatened the very security of Chattanooga itself and of many other communities on this river, on the Ohio and on the Mississippi.

I had studied the washing away of the wealth of soil on the main stem of the river, on its many main tributaries, and up in the creeks and hills in the higher valleys. I had seen water commerce impeded by shoals and by winding variable channels. I had understood the waste of potential hydro-electric energy.

I had seen forests denuded or burned -- but worst of all, I had seen the splendid people living in parts of seven states fighting against nature instead of with nature.

Being of a practical turn of mind, I asked for figures relating to losses and figures to show the cost of stopping these losses.

My memory is that the engineers told me that from floods alone the average annual damage in the Tennessee Valley was about \$25,000,000; that the top soil carried to the sea by annual floods averaged another \$25,000,000 worth; that better farming and forestry could produce at least \$25,000,000 a year more; and, finally, that a saving of \$25,000,000 could be made by providing for and insisting on cheaper electric rates and a wider distribution of power. In other words, the complete development of the objectives of the Tennessee Valley Authority would save or, in other words, gain for the people of the watershed \$100,000,000 a year.

On the other side of the ledger -- the cost side -- we would have to figure on a total final investment of about \$500,000,000, including, of course, the taxes and amortization on the amount spent through a series of years -- and including incidentally no watered stock. This total sum of dollars was to be spent for three major benefits. The first related to the control of the water for better navigation, for the building of lakes, for the prevention of erosion and for the development of power. The second objective we had was the building back of soil fertility through research into phosphate fertilizers, the use of nitrate plant life and the diversification of crops, and the reforesting of millions of acres of land. The third objective was to improve the social and economic life of these citizens with their cooperation -- to plan with them for a greater diversification of human effort, to make a richer farm life, to add new industries, to give employment, and to bring a larger return in cash each year to the average of our families.

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First Draft

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
 CHICKAMAUGA DAM
 SEPTEMBER 2, 1940

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objectives of the Government in building up this great Tennessee Valley project. It was at a Press Conference, which I held at Warm Springs, Georgia, in January, 1933, after visiting the Valley with that splendid fighting American, Senator George Norris, of Nebraska, that I put his vision and mine into words. For many years, in different parts of the Nation, I have been interested in what I called the problem of better land use, a problem which necessarily had to ~~consider~~ include existing facts of harmful land use.

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We are seeking the preparedness of America, not against the threat of war or conquest alone, but in order that preparedness be built to assure American peace that rests on the well-being of American people.

Let us today therefore, dedicate this Dam and these lakes to the benefit of all the people, the prosperity they have stimulated, the faith they have justified, the hope they have inspired, the hearts that they encourage -- the total defense of the United States of America.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
CHICKAMAUGA DAM
SEPTEMBER 2, 1940

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This national holiday -- Labor Day -- has been appropriately selected, because in the miracle that man has wrought, labor has played a vital role. In all these seven

years, in heat and cold, men have drilled and blasted through solid rock, they have poured ton after ton of concrete and they have moved mountains of earth. They have worked with the strength of their hands, and they have operated complicated machinery with every modern skill. Never once, in this the biggest consolidated construction job ever undertaken directly by the national Government, has there been a substantial interruption to the continuance of your labors. This dam, all the dams built in this short space of years, stand as a monument to a productive partnership between management and labor, between citizens of all kinds working together in the public weal.

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In the watershed of the Tennessee River, therefore, I had come to consider the facts of devastating floods which had existed for many generations -- floods that washed away houses and roads and factories; floods that took great tolls of human lives -- floods which threatened the very security of Chattanooga itself and of many other communities on this river, on the Ohio and on the Mississippi.

I had studied the washing away of the wealth of soil on the main stem of the river, on its many main tributaries, and up in the creeks and hills in the higher valleys. I had seen water commerce impeded by shoals and by winding variable channels. I had understood the waste of potential hydro-electric energy.

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My memory is that the engineers told me that from floods alone the average annual damage in the Tennessee Valley was about \$25,000,000; that the top soil carried to the sea by annual floods averaged another \$25,000,000 worth; that better farming and forestry could produce at least \$25,000,000 a year more; and, finally, that a saving of \$25,000,000 could be made by providing for and insisting on cheaper electric rates and a wider distribution of power. In other words, the complete development of the objectives of the Tennessee Valley Authority would save the people of the watershed \$100,000,000 a year.

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STATEMENTS FILE

(Chickamauga Address)

GOVERNOR COOPER, GOVERNOR RIVERS, MEMBERS OF THE
SENATE AND OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, CHAIRMAN
MORGAN AND MEMBERS OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY,
AND YOU, THE GOOD PEOPLE OF TENNESSEE AND OF THE
OTHER SIX STATES THAT ABUT THIS GREAT VALLEY:

I am glad to come here today, especially because
I took part in the laying of the cornerstone of this
dam some years ago.

(Then follows text)

STATEMENTS FILE

Shouldered by Kenne

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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SEPTEMBER 1, 1940

The following address of the President to be delivered at the Chickamauga Dam Celebration is for release in newspapers appearing on the streets not earlier than 10:00 A.M., C.B.T., Monday, September 2, 1940.

The same limitation applies to the use of this speech by radio broadcasters or radio news commentators.

Please safeguard against premature release.

SIR PHILIP EARLY
Secretary to the President

when I first passed this place, after my election but before my Inauguration as President, there flowed here a vagrant stream, sometimes shallow and useless, sometimes turbulent and in flood, always dark with the soil it had washed from the eroding hills. This Chickamauga Dam, the sixth in the series of mammoth structures built by the Tennessee Valley Authority for the people of the United States, is helping to give to all of us human control of the watershed of the Tennessee River in order that it may serve in full the purposes of ~~men~~.

The chain of man-made inland seas may well be named "The Great Lakes of the South". Through them we are celebrating the opening of a new artery of commerce, new opportunities for recreation, relief from the desolation of floods, ~~and~~ new low cost energy which has begun to flow to the homes and farms and industries in seven American States.

This national holiday -- Labor Day -- has been appropriately selected, because in the miracle that man has wrought, labor has played a vital role. In all these seven years, in heat and in cold, men have drilled and blasted through solid rock, they have poured ton after ton of concrete and they have moved mountains of earth. They have worked with the strength of their hands, and they have operated complicated machinery with every modern skill. Never once, ~~in this~~ the biggest consolidated construction job ever undertaken directly by the national Government, has there been a substantial interruption to the continuance of your labors. This dam, all the dams built in this short space of years, stand as a monument to a productive partnership between management and labor, between citizens of all kinds working together in the public welfare. Collective bargaining and efficiency have proceeded hand in hand. It is noteworthy that the splendid new agreement between organized labor and the Tennessee Valley Authority begins with the words "The public interest in an undertaking such as the TVA ~~always~~ ^{is} paramount....".

It is appropriate, therefore, that we recognize this signal achievement on the day when the whole nation pays tribute to labor's contribution to the democracy ~~under~~ we are now preparing to defend. To all of you, therefore, -- all of you who have contributed to make these structures possible throughout this beautiful Valley -- I extend the Nation's thanks.

The only note of sorrow that can properly be sounded on a great day like this lies in the misplaced emphasis which so many people have put on the objectives of the Government in building up this great Tennessee Valley project. It was at a Press Conference, which I held at Farm Springs, Georgia, in January, 1933, after visiting the Valley with that splendid fighting American, Senator George Norris, of Nebraska, that I put his vision and mine into words. For many years, in different parts of the Nation, I have been interested in what I called the problem of better land use, a problem which necessarily had to include existing facts of harmful land use.

In the watershed of the Tennessee River, therefore, I had come to consider the facts of devastating floods which had existed for many generations -- floods that washed away houses and roads and factories; floods that took great tolls of human lives -- floods which threatened the very security of Chattanooga itself and of many other communities on this river, on the Ohio, and on the Mississippi.

I had studied the washing away of the wealth of soil on the main stem of the river, on its many tributaries, and up in the creeks and hills in the higher valleys. I had seen water commerce impeded by shoals made by winding variable channels. I had understood the waste of potential hydroelectric energy.

I had seen forests denuded or burned -- but worst of all, I had seen the splendid people living in parts of our States fighting against nature instead of with nature.

Being of a practical turn of mind, I asked for figures relating to losses and figures to show the cost of stopping these losses.

My memory is that the engineers told me that from floods alone the average annual damage in the Tennessee Valley was about \$25,000,000; that the top soil carried to the sea by annual floods averaged another \$25,000,000 yearly; that better farming and forestry could produce at least \$25,000,000 a year more, and, finally, that a saving of \$25,000,000 could be made by providing for and insisting on cheaper electric rates and a wider distribution of power. In other words, the complete development of the objectives of the Tennessee Valley Authority could save or, in other words, gain for the people of the watershed \$100,000,000 a year.

On the other side of the ledger -- the cost side -- we would have to figure on a total final investment of about \$500,000,000, including, of course, the taxes and amortization on the amount spent through a series of years -- and including, incidentally, no watered stock. This total sum of dollars was to be spent for three major benefits. The first related to the control of the water for better navigation, for the building of lakes, for the prevention of erosion and for the development of power. The second objective we had was the building back of soil fertility through research into phosphate fertilizers, the use of nitrate plant life and the diversification of crops, and the reforesting of millions of acres of land. The third objective was to improve the social and economic life of these citizens with their cooperation -- to plan with them for a greater diversification of human effort, to make a richer farm life, to see new industries, to give employment, and to bring a larger return in cash each year to the average of our families.

Today we see the progress that we have made, that we are making, and that we propose to continue to make. We have come far along the road. In this Valley, as in the Nation, we do not propose to abandon the goal that is directly before our eyes either by sitting down or by going back.

These ~~spurious~~ changes have not come by compulsion -- for thousands of farmers and thousands of town people have met together in the common effort. They have debated and discussed. Participating in the processes of their Government, they have altered the looks of their towns. They have added fertilizer to the soil. They have improved their industries. No farmer was forced to join this conservation movement. No workman was compelled to labor here under onerous conditions, or for less than a rightful wage. No citizen has lost a single one of these ~~dear~~ liberties we prize so highly in this democracy. This is a demonstration of what a democracy at work can do, of a people uniting in a war against waste and insecurity.

There were and are those who maintain that the development of this enterprise is not a proper activity of Government. As for me, I glory in it as one of the great social and economic achievements of our country.

Today, we are facing a time of peril unmatched in the history of the nations of all the world. And because we are undertaking the total defense of our Nation, the Tennessee Valley Region has assumed, in addition to its own domestic betterment, its share of responsibility for national defense.

Already, and several years ahead of our carefully planned schedule, we are creating new plants which of necessity will use more power. I am glad, indeed, that in spite of partisan opposition, the Congress of the United States has overwhelmingly voted the necessary funds. That money is now at work.

New defense industries are more safe from attack in this region behind the mountain than if they were located on our more exposed borders. It is, therefore, good for our safety to develop further and to use the natural resources and the man power of this region. In that development, let us always remember that we must and shall retain the great gains that have been made for human social security in recent years. We propose, indeed, not to retain them alone but to improve and extend them. Most assuredly we are determined neither to repeal them nor to weaken them.

We understand now what we did not understand in 1917 and 1918 -- that the building up of Army and Navy equipment and the training of men to use it ought not to result in a waste of our natural resources, and at the same time ought not to break down the gains of labor or the maintenance of living wages.

We are seeking the preparedness of America, not against the threat of war or conquest alone, but in order that preparedness be built to assure American peace that rests on the well-being of the American people.

Therefore, today dedicate this Dam and these lakes to the benefit of all the people, the prosperity they have stimulated, the faith they have justified, the hope they have inspired, the hearts that they encourage -- the total defense of the United States of America.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Y
August 27, 1940

PPF
1820
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MEMORANDUM

RE: LILLIENTHAL DRAFT OF SPEECH

Correction on first page, 4th line -- the
word "seventh" should be "sixth".

Correction on second page, 7th line -- the
sentence reading "This dam, the seven dams built", etc.,
should read ""This dam, all the dams built in the
short space of seven years", etc.

Speech Material X 1820
Chickamauga Dam +
+

Lilienthal's draft.

PRESIDENTIAL

DEATH OF A NEWSPAPER

(Provided by the Democratic National Committee)

No matter what he professes to believe, a man's attitude on the fundamentals of democracy is best evidenced by his treatment of the basic rights of free press and free speech.

This space today is given over to the story of the Chattanooga News, a newspaper published in Tennessee, which was driven to the wall by financial pressure applied by the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation during the time when Wendell L. Willkie was the corporation's president. The owner of the News, George Fort Milton, a liberal publisher, lost his paper because he had the courage to speak out in favor of municipally-owned power plants, a policy violently opposed by the Willkie Company.

The story briefly is this. The Legislature of Tennessee authorized the City of Chattanooga to establish a municipal power plant, provided

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DAILY NEWS, MONDAY, AUGUST 26, 1946



the project was approved by the voters in a referendum. Milton's paper, the News, favored the project. A campaign in opposition was started by the Tennessee Electric Power Company, a subsidiary of Commonwealth & Southern, which was then supplying the city with power.

FAIR PLAY OR NOT?

The power company, of course, had a perfect right to use legitimate methods in fighting the municipal plant. The newspaper had a perfect right to carry on a campaign in favor of its construction. The question is one of ethics and fair dealing. The power company decided to punish the News for its stand.

The Chattanooga Free Press had been published as a semi-weekly but after the battle over the municipal referendum, it suddenly blossomed forth as a daily afternoon newspaper published in competition with the Chattanooga News. The power company immediately switched its advertising from the News to the Free Press, paid the latter exorbitant rates for advertising, and gave \$10,000 to one of its own attorneys, who, in turn, handed the money over to the Free Press. Other tactics favorable to the Free Press were employed. The character of these tactics may be judged by the fact that the Railroad and Public Utilities Commission of Tennessee investigated the case and found the power company GUILTY ON 917 counts of using illegal methods to destroy the Chattanooga News.

REPORT TO CONGRESS

The charge that a newspaper was driven out of business because of its editorial stand on vital public questions should not be made lightly. Therefore, we quote from the Joint Committee of Congress, appointed to investigate the Tennessee Valley Authority. This committee was composed of both Democrats and Republicans. The report said (page 260):

"In October, 1938, after the committee had heard testimony on the matter, an investigation was entered by the Railroad and Public Utilities Commission of the State of Tennessee. On February 10, 1939, the Commission handed down an opinion finding that: (1) The Tennessee Electric Power Company had from September, 1937, through June, 1938, allowed the Chattanooga Free Press to carry less for electric energy than was called for by its schedule of rates; (2) the power company paid to the Free Press for advertising amounts far in excess of regular rates for advertising; and (3) the power company paid to the Free Press \$30,000 through Silas Williams for the purpose of aiding the Free Press 'to pay these past and future power bills.' The Commission referred the whole matter to the State Attorney General for action under the Tennessee law relating to public utility companies."

It would be in error to assume that Mr. Willkie was unaware of what his subsidiary company was doing because his own Company participated in the municipal election by other means. How this conforms with the announced intention of Candidate Willkie to defend "the American way of life" is something for him to explain.

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Chattanooga speech memo.
from D.E.L. Aug 27/40

We have met here today to dedicate these "Great Lakes of the South," this chain of man-made inland seas created for the profit and the enjoyment of the people of this nation. We are met to dedicate the Chickamauga Dam, ^{20th} in the series of mammoth structures built by TVA for the people of the United States, that the force and the power of the Tennessee River should at last be controlled to serve the purposes of men. Here, where a few years ago there flowed a vagrant stream, sometimes shallow and useless for commerce, sometimes turbulent and threatening in flood, always dark with the soil it washed from the eroding hills, today a clear and constant current is emerging to wind in beauty from the mountains high in North Carolina down through Tennessee and Alabama north to join the great Ohio River in Kentucky. Those dams have made these lakes, because of them you celebrate the opening of a new artery of commerce, new opportunities for recreation; because of them low-cost energy flows to your homes, your farms, and your industries. Because of them relief from the desolation of floods is in sight.

This national holiday was appropriately selected for these dedication ceremonies. For in the miracle that has been wrought in this area since 1933 when the Tennessee Valley Authority was established, labor has played a vital role. The river would not be harnessed by mighty dams today, these lovely lakes would not be here, there would be no occasion for celebration, if labor had not done its part of the job, done it faithfully and well. In all those years, in heat and cold, men have drilled and blasted through solid

rock, they have poured ton after ton of concrete. They have worked with the strength of their hands and they have skillfully operated complicated machinery. They have risked their lives to build these barriers that the river may forever be subdued. And never once in this, the biggest construction job ever undertaken directly by the national government, has there been a substantial interruption due to a strike. This dam, the ~~several~~ dams built in the short space of ~~less than~~ ^{less than} ~~four~~ years stand as monuments to a wise and productive partnership between management and labor, between citizens working together in a public project devoted to the common weal. It is appropriate, therefore, that this signal achievement should be recognized on that day when the whole country pays tribute to labor's contribution to the democracy which we are now preparing to defend.

The defense of democracy—that is the subject uppermost in my mind and in your minds today. Everywhere in this country, where men and women are gathered together in good fellowship on Labor Day, at picnics and meetings and family gatherings, that is the burden of their thoughts—the defense of our way of life against the threat of force and aggression. That is the task in which the country is united today. To accomplish it the energies and devotion of us all will be required. For no one agency, no one activity, no one formula is sufficient for our country's protection. The Army alone cannot defend us; the Navy cannot protect us solely. Neither the Congress nor the President can accomplish the task single handed.

Great expenditure of federal funds for defense have already been authorized by the Congress. Pursuant to those authorizations, plans have been developed by experts in military affairs; raw materials

are being assembled and processed and private business is facing the problem of special and increased production to fill the mounting orders. Men in all trades and crafts, skilled and unskilled labor, are already at work upon the arms, the munitions, the material we shall need. There must be no failure at any point. Agencies of government must do their share, private business enterprises must undertake the responsibility which is theirs under our system, and labor must perform its job with efficiency and loyalty. A breakdown anywhere may cause delay and spell defeat.

To me, and to the country, what has been accomplished here gives hope and confidence for the coming months. Here there was no break-down, no delay. If in the past seven years this construction program had been delayed by strikes, or hampered by inefficiency, or harassed by conflicts between the workers and the management of TVA, the forces of our national defense would today be weakened. For those dams and the power they generate are essential if our production for defense is to meet our urgent needs. They are not enough. The facilities must be expanded. A few weeks ago Congress authorized the TVA to undertake the construction of a new dam and a new steam electric plant, and to install additional generators in its existing dams, in order that more power for national defense might be assured. Those men who affect to scorn what they choose to call the inept and inefficient methods of a democracy should know the speed with which that mandate has been carried out. Within an hour after the bill for this new program was signed, men and equipment had been moved toward the site of that new Cherokee Dam; the dirt began to fly. A year is being

cut from the normal construction schedule, and by 1942 power for the manufacture of aluminum, power for the construction of airplanes, power for munitions and arms, will flow out from its generators to service enterprises engaged in the protection of our country. We know now that that power will be desperately needed on a certain date, and we make our further plans confident that the close schedules will be met. We have no doubt about that, and our confidence is not solely based on competent engineering judgment. It rests on the knowledge that labor will do its share. It is confirmed by a solemn compact just entered into by the Authority and the 15 international labor organizations representing 8,000 of TVA's construction workers.

Through this covenant TVA's management and its labor forces together assure the nation that their job of preparation will not be impeded by strikes or lockouts. Arbitrary actions are ruled out by mutual consent, machinery for the peaceful adjustment of differences has been provided in advance by partners who have good reason to trust each other's good faith and good sense. And this agreement does more than to insure the continuity of production and absence of conflict. Labor and TVA have set up joint cooperative committees to confer on the problems that arise in the course of work. They will consult together on such questions as the improvement of workmanship, the elimination of waste of materials, of supplies and energy and more effective service to the public. In the words of their agreement, all its terms are predicated upon this declaration, "The public interest in an undertaking such as the TVA always being paramount. . . ."

Such an agreement would be a source of gratification at any time. Such an agreement should be recognized on any Labor Day. In this time of crisis I take it as an augury of strength. For this region

is peculiarly important in the national defense. Ever since the first World War, when a munitions plant was built on the Tennessee River at Muscle Shoals in Alabama, the country has known that this valley is considered by military authorities to have natural advantages as a location for plants for military purposes. It is inland from the sea, sheltered by mountains, and rich in the raw materials of defense. Today, the region is infinitely more important to defense than it was when the Wilson Dam and the nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals were built. For since then the Tennessee Valley Authority has been established. And now the Authority itself is an important agency of defense, not only because the power produced at its dams is transmitted over its lines to the industries to whose operations we must entrust the manufacture of our defense materials. It is an essential agency of defense because it is devoted to the conservation and the development of the resources of this region, and that conservation, that development are necessary fortifications in our program of total defense.

For we cannot defend this country and our way of life by the manufacture of armaments, of airplanes, and of ships alone. All those and more activities are recognized as the first line of military protection, but back of arms, of airplanes, and of ships, back of the men who man them, there must be a vigorous country, a country with its economic resources marshalled fully for production and mobilized for use, a country whose citizens have stout hearts, and faith in the purposes of their government. All that is needed for total defense, and nothing less than complete protection will do

for a democracy today. A country must look to its soil fertility as well as its stock of munitions. It must conserve, it must control and develop its natural resources of land and water, of forests and minerals. Its citizens must have security against want as well as safety from bombs. To fail to accomplish a single one of those objectives may be as dangerous to a nation's ultimate survival as a shortage of ships or planes or men. Those are the things that TVA, the nation's first agency of regional planning, has been undertaking here to add to our national security and strength.

I wish that every citizen in the United States, every man and woman and child, could look out upon the Tennessee Valley region today as I have done and as you have done, and could see the evidences of strength and vigor that we have seen. I wish every one could know the changes that this regional program has promoted. For a hundred years the Tennessee River has been recognized as a great potential source of wealth, as a potential carrier of commerce, as a potential source of tremendous quantities of greatly needed power. But for all those years the floods of the Tennessee had washed away the wealth and threatened the security of Chattanooga and added to the danger of cities on the Ohio and the lower Mississippi. Tens of millions of dollars of property had been destroyed, lives had been lost, because a natural resource was uncontrolled. For all those years the development of water commerce was impeded by shoals and a winding, variable channel. During all that time only a little hydro electric energy was being produced. Today a program is nearing completion which will fully utilize the resources of that river.

Seven years ago when I visited this valley I saw field after field and acre after acre of land whose fertility was almost destroyed. I saw raw gullies, denuded hillsides. I saw the tragic remnants of the forests which had once been among the finest in North America, and heard stories of stranded and hopeless families, bankrupt businesses, and impoverished communities that had depended on that once rich land and those ancient forests for their livelihood.

Today tens of thousands of acres, then dark and sterile, now are green and living. Millions of newly planted trees herald the slow replacement of that wasted forest wealth. Those mineral resources, through experiments conducted by public agencies, are being opened for processing by private enterprise, some of them essential in this crisis to take the place of strategic imports now denied us. New local industries are being developed at cross roads to bring work and wealth to the people. Over eleven thousand miles of lines carry electric current to the farms. The income level is rising. The region is husbanding its resources, is promoting the well being of its people.

And this change has not come by compulsion. Thousands of farmers and townspeople have met in soil conservation clubs, in the meetings of rural electrification cooperatives, in neighborhood demonstration projects. They have debated and discussed. They have made decisions. Participating in the processes of their government, they have altered the looks of their towns, they have changed their own farming practices, they have added fertility to the soil and increased the security of the nation. Not a single farmer was forced to join this conservation movement. Not one workman has been compelled to labor here under

onerous conditions and for less than a rightful wage. This wealth has been added to the nation without the loss of one of those human liberties we prize so highly in this democracy. Every one of the more than four million visitors who has journeyed here in the past seven years has seen a demonstration of a democracy at work, of a people united in a war against waste and insecurity, a people strengthening the defenses of a country now facing a time of peril unmatched in the history of nations. For these are grave times. This job of total defense is only started. It will not be simply done. Sacrifices must be made by every one of us before it is completed, sacrifices by men and women in public office, in private business, in the ranks of labor.

Let us then today not only dedicate this dam and these lakes for the benefit of all the people, let us dedicate, too, the prosperity they have stimulated, the faith they have justified, the hope they have inspired, the hearts they have encouraged--let us dedicate all these toward the total defense of our country.