THE STORY OF AN ALABAMA CONGRESSMAN



BOB JONES

by William Wray Eckl, University of Virginia "Bob Jones, in my opinion, is the most dedicated, conscientious and useful public servant I have ever had the opportunity to serve with."

Sam Rayburn Pulaski, Tenn. - 1960

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BACKGROUND AND ELECTION

It had been over one hundred years since Jackson County had a Congress-man, when the local 34-year-old judge decided to run. He was a native of Scottsboro, the county seat, and had attended the local public schools, graduating from Jackson County High School after achieving a distinguished record athletically and academically.

Years later, during the first election, the local paper described in the following manner the impression Robert Jones had made upon the people of the county during his youth:

Bob Jones was born right here. He spent his child-hood and youth here, attending our schools. Even as a small boy he was a favorite in the community, for he was always bright, polite and energetic. He had that natural ability to make friends among young and old. And he was always honorable and had natural courtesy and interest in all the people around him.

For 6½ years Judge Jones worked his way through the University of Alabama's undergraduate and law schools and then entered private law practice in the firm of Brewton & Jones in Scottsboro. At the University, he met his wife, the former Christine Francis of Tuscaloosa. They were married April 9, 1938.

On January 1, 1941, he became Jackson County's first county judge but left that position when the war came and volunteered for duty. He was commissioned an ensign in the Navy in December, 1943, and served 26 months, part of which time was spent on convoy duty in the North Atlantic. Judge Jones was reelected to his position while he was still in the service and was released from the Navy on February 22, 1946. During the last seven months of his service, Lt. Jones was attached to Gen. McArthur's general staff and, along with another attorney, gathered the evidence which eventually convicted and hanged Gen. Yamashita.

As previously indicated, after his discharge Judge Jones resumed his county judgeship and together with his wife and their son, Rob, lived quietly on a small farm near Scottsboro.

And so it might well have continued. However, Rep. John Sparkman, the Eighth District Congressman for over a decade, was nominated to the Senate seat that was left vacant by the death of Senator John H. Bankhead. Consequently, a special primary was called in order to determine the successor to the House seat of Rep. Sparkman who would resign to take the seat in the Senate.

Judge Jones was the immediate choice of those who knew him. A natural public servant, he was a member of the Board of Stewards of the First Methodist Church of Scottsboro, member of the Farm Bureau Federation, a farmer, a lawyer, a judge, Scoutmaster, and the recipient of an award from the Treasury Department for his excellent service in leading the Defense and War Bond drives in his community. Without ulterior or hidden motives, he had served his area at every opportunity and, as the election was later to

demonstrate, the people of the area had taken quite a fancy to this energetic and friendly young judge. Always ready to serve, and strongly urged by many personal calls and visits, Judge Jones, predictably, assented and announced his candidacy.

Running in a field of seven strong candidates and with only three weeks in which to campaign, Judge Jones left the campaigning in his own county to his many friends and to the volunteer organization which sprang up almost overnight. He also conceded Colbert County to his strongest rival and longtime friend - Jim Smith of Tuscumbia - and spent his entire time in the remaining counties of the district. Already in his campaign he was demonstrating the realism and keen political intuition which were to serve him so well in the ensuing years in Congress. This strategy paid and a run-off was necessary between the judge and Jim Smith. Jones, however, lead the field aided greatly by an almost unanimous vote from the people of Jackson County - the people who knew him well.

The period between the primary and the run-off was characterized by rallies, box suppers, motor cavalcades, and plain straight talk from court-house steps. It was a clean campaign and largely devoid of issues since both Jones and Smith knew the district and its problems well.

Jones' platform was simple and direct and promised support of education, aid to young and old, all-out support of TVA and REA, and the promotion and support of the great majority of the people: the farmers and the laborers.

On October 22, the people of the district made their choice and the decision was firm and clear: Jones, 16,787; Smith, 11,260.

In his letter of appreciation to the people of the district, the newly-elected Congressman made a promise to the people; a promise which from a vantage of 15 years later can well be used as a description of the Jones record:

In assuming my duties as your representative in Congress in January, I shall go to Washington as the unfettered representative of all the people. I pledge that I shall work untiringly for the interests of this county and this district - a pledge that I shall neither forget, nor neglect.

THE CONGRESS

Of course, it would be impossible in an undertaking of this length to mention and discuss Congressman Jones' voting record on all the bills before each session of Congress. However, many of the principal issues before each session of Congress will be noted and there will be a discussion of the Congressman's voting record regarding them.

It should also be strongly emphasized that the voting record of a Congress-man registers only a part of his activities as a public servant. Indeed, the voting record is only a sketch, a mere skeleton, of the Congressman's career. Many, many other activities and abilities must be considered and added before the "skeleton" takes on flesh and life - before it presents a true and accurate picture of the individual's career. Mentioning just a few of these activities will add this needed perspective: the ability of the Representative to persuade others to his point of view, his eloquence and persuasiveness on the floor of Congress, in committee meetings, in private conferences, the respect and opinion of the other members of Congress concerning his views and abilities,

his courage in speaking when silence might provide an easy out, and his endeavors in a thousand small ways to serve the people of his district - in getting them jobs, information, in referring them to the proper agencies and all the incredibly numerous other ways that the constituents call upon their Congressman to serve them. So many of these "little" things are quickly forgotten or buried in the memories of those who sought and invariably received his aid and assistance - but nonetheless they make up no small part of the Congressman's record. And even though these "little" things can only be mentioned briefly, it is respectfully submitted that the Bob Jones' record in regard to them will stand him in good stead.

Bob Jones took his seat in the 80th Congress in an unfavorable situation - due to the special nature of his election he was not on the scene until the House had already organized; and, more serious still, this Congress was dominated by a Republican majority. Nonetheless, he had hardly arrived before he was in the midst of the varied and complex legislative processes and controversies.

On February 5, 1947, Jones was sworn in and immediately announced that he would urge the Senate Public Works Committee to approve the nomination of Gordon R. Clapp as director of the TVA. The distinguished record which Clapp amassed proved that Jones' first decision was not erroneous. And it was almost prophetic that his first decision should concern the Tennessee Valley Authority since this was the agency which so greatly benefited his district (and his section of the country) and also would in future years claim so much of his time and efforts - efforts which were to meet with singular and outstanding success. But more of that later.

Jones also voted against the constitutional amendment that precludes any president from serving more than two full or partial terms - an undisguised attempt to smear the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Like many freshman Representatives before him, Congressman Jones' first committee was the House District of Columbia Committee, the council that supervises the affairs of the nation's capital. One Alabama newspaper when discussing Jones' election to this Committee had the following to say:

This new member is a highly respected leader even though he only recently took his seat. . . .

Jones votes for bills as he personally sees them although he highly respects the opinions of his constituents, and he's voting for measures that he feels will have that "right something" to push the Nation forward.

In an appearance before a House sub-committee, Jones strongly urged and sponsored an effort to support forest conservation work by assisting the private timberland owner with practical on-the-ground help.

In one of his most strongly worded and dramatic speeches from the Floor of the House, he bitterly attacked the Republican-sponsored Knutson Tax Bill and demonstrated at length that the bill placed an undue burden on the shoulders of the average wage-earner and was designed for the purpose of relieving the millionaire classes from their proportionate share of the national debt. Disapproving of those who place the interest of a few above the national interest

he stated, "I am firmly convinced that this tax reduction was not conceived in the national interest but to further the majority party (then Republican) for the 1948 presidential campaign."

After the sub-committee of the Committee on Appropriations recommended an over-all reduction of \$337,842,786 in the agriculture bill, Jones strongly opposed it stating that, "As much as national economy is desired, I cannot subscribe to placing this unfair burden upon the backs of the already burdened farmers of this country, for the sound economy of agriculture is a protection of the national security and national prosperity."

When the controversial Taft-Hartley Labor Bill came before the House, Congressman Jones voted against it - one of three Alabama Congressmen who did so. "Labor", the international newspaper of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, commended him for this courageous stand. Only six southern Congressmen voted against it. Jones' reasons for doing so were quite simple; he considered some of the measures in the Act to be entirely too harsh.

Perhaps the most dangerous bill introduced in Congress that year was one by Senator McKellar which would have crippled the Tennessee Valley Authority and destroyed its great usefulness. Every county in the 8th District is directly affected and aided by TVA and Jones worked ceaselessly to insure that the McKellar Bill would be defeated. He arranged tours for Republican Congressmen and accompanied them through the TVA area in order to insure that they would understand the real story of the Valley Authority, a story of a successful federal experiment which demonstrated that a heretofore economically depressed area, when given the means, could successfully lift itself by its own bootstraps - but the bootstraps had previously been lacking. As the Decatur Daily said on its editorial page of July 4, 1947, "If TVA is saved from a deluge of regulations, John Sparkman, Lister Hill and Bob Jones will save it."

TVA, however, was not the only 8th District interest that Congressman Jones defended. Amid talk of shutting down the Huntsville Arsenal, the Congressman made a special trip to Washington in an attempt to convince the Army to retain the Arsenal on a "stand-by" status. The great wisdom of this decision cannot be doubted from the vantage point of the missile age. The Huntsville Arsenal probably has done more to keep America safe and strong in the face of the Soviet missile threat than any other Army activity in the country. And it also has had a very beneficial economic effect on the 8th District since its yearly payroll is upwards of \$125,000,000 and provides about 75% of the economic "basis" of the city of Huntsville.

The Huntsville Times, in summing up Jones' first session in Congress, had the following to say:

Bob Jones has worked under a severe handicap in the first few months in the House. He was not elected, and could not take his seat, until late January, after the House already had been organized by the Republicans...

In spite of these handicaps, Congressman Jones has carved a definite niche among his colleagues, and has been singled out for special comment by outside, disinterested sources.

If he is retained in service by this District, he will grow further in influence and effectiveness. He's that kind of man.

The Decatur Daily also wrote a highly complimentary editorial, saying in part:

John Sparkman and Bob Jones will continue to serve not only the Eighth District and Alabama with courage and sincerity, they will continue to serve the whole of the United States in the same manner.

Drew Pearson, acid critic of Washington politics and a hard man to please, commented as follows in his column:

Robert E. Jones, Alabama successor to the House seat of Senator John Sparkman, an ex-navy gunnery officer, and a chip off the old block.

And so ended Robert E. Jones' first session as the Representative from the Eighth District of Alabama.

On January 6, 1948, the second session of the 80th Congress convened and President Truman presented his civil rights legislation which included proposals relating to lynching, poll tax, employment practices and several other measures obviously repugnant to the South. Jones opposed each of them and commented upon them as follows:

I shall vigorously oppose all measures which would affect the way of life in the South. I mean the FEPC and anti-poll tax proposals, and especially any measure which would impose on the people of Alabama any dictation from the federal government on how to carry on their normal way of life.

Congressman Jones also during this term did everything in his power to help the proposed Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Canal become a reality. This canal would link the two rivers and provide a waterway which would greatly aid enormous sections of the entire state of Alabama. Throughout his tenure in Congress, he has done everything in his power to promote this project.

It was during this session that the Congressman was appointed to serve on the House Public Works Committee. This is the committee in which Jones was destined to rise to great influence and throughout his years in Congress he has spent an enormous amount of time and labor on the committee's business.

The 8th District Representative introduced a bill to appropriate \$18,000,000 to extend operations of the Federal Barge Line which is operated by the Inland Waterways Corporation. This measure called for extension of operations to the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers to provide a tremendous increase in water transportation along both rivers.

He was also instrumental in securing the continued operation of the veterans clinic in Decatur, Alabama, when its curtailment was threatened by the Veterans Administration. He was also instrumental in the reopening of the Florence office of the Veterans Administration.

On February 11, 1948, Representative Jones qualified as a candidate for renomination. He ran unopposed. Apparently the people of the 8th District were quite satisfied with the young judge's record. And they had every reason for feeling that way. Jones, incidentally, was the only one of the nine Alabama Congressmen who was unopposed.

The 1st session of the 81st Congress convened on January 3, 1949, and Representative Jones, then a member of the House District Committee, asked for a study of commercial parking in the District of Columbia since the Nation's capital was experiencing a common post-war urban difficulty - the traffic problem.

One of the Congressman's greatest achievements began to take shape during this session: the Rural Housing Act. This Act, which worked under the Federal Housing Act, was designed specifically for farm buildings, since farmers had not previously been aided by Federal housing activities. It was designed to make \$250,000,000 available in four years for loans and grants to provide decent and sanitary living conditions and needed improvements for farm owners and their tenants, sharecroppers, and laborers. Especially in this Act, but also in his over-all voting record, Representative Jones showed his great interest in and concern for the welfare of the farmer - and this Act demonstrated that his concern was real, not just campaign talk.

However, Jones' support of the farmer in this session did not end with this greatly beneficial bill. He strongly opposed a plan that allowed the Secretary of Agriculture to reduce parity to as low as 60 percent. And he went on record as saying:

We must acknowledge that the farmer's cost of production has risen proportionately to that of industry and he is not realizing the margin of profit of two years ago.

The adoption of the 90 percent formula and some management of production controls are necessary to relieve the present situation.

The future economic well being of all groups is based upon the prosperity of the farmer.

Continuing his fight for TVA, Representative Jones fought long and hard for the appropriation of sufficient funds to construct the proposed steam plant at New Johnsonville, Tennessee. On February 17, 1949, the Decatur Daily had the following to say regarding his efforts:

When the TVA Steam Plant appropriation was voted by the House of Representatives late Wednesday afternoon, Congressman Jones was one of the happiest men in Washington. Rep. Jones has fought "tooth and claw" for a favorable vote in the House. In the January 28, 1949, edition of the Florence Times, the following comment appeared:

Proving again his keen interest in conservation and the wise use of the forest resources of his state and nation, Congressman Robert E. Jones, Jr., of Scottsboro, has introduced in Congress a bill to amend the Clarke-McNary Act of June 7, 1924.

This measure called for increased fire control, extended production of seedlings and generally increased forestry activity - especially to aid the private owners of small forests and wood lots.

When the House Banking Committee included Jones' Rural Housing Act almost word for word in its general housing measure, it became apparent that the long-needed aid to farmers was in the process of becoming a reality and farmers showered the Congressman with great praise. A typical comment was an editorial by the Montgomery Examiner (reprinted in many of the news-papers across the state) which follows:

Alabama's Tennessee Valley has a way of turning out promising Congressmen. Senator John Sparkman was one of them, and when he moved up to the Senate the man who followed him was Navy veteran Bob Jones of Scottsboro.

Bob Jones is a level-headed and progressive young lawyer. He has won two elections for his post as Representative of the Eighth Congressional District in Washington, and seems to be gaining strength steadily by a fine record.

His latest contribution is a farm housing bill.... Under Jones' bill, farmers would be helped not only in building homes, but other buildings as well. - "What's the use of giving a farmer a house if you don't give him a place to store his grain or other crops, or protect his livestock?"

And he adds - "through the provision of adequate farm housing, we can help create a living environment that will attract and hold to the soil as a source of livelihood, those best able to utilize those resources in a way that will protect our national security and well being."

We like Bob Jones and his plans for better farm housing.

Congressman Jones also strongly supported and advocated the Housing Act of 1949 which provided federal aid for slum clearance and low cost housing. In time, many of the urban areas of the Eighth District were to use such funds to great advantage.

At a TVA anniversary celebration in the district, no less a party chieftain than Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House, described Rep. Jones as one of the outstanding prospects among the younger members of the Congress.

Congressman Jones also did everything in labor's behalf. For one thing, he supported an increase in the minimum wage from 40 to 75 cents.

The Rural Housing Act of 1949, previously discussed, became law on November 17 and a Jackson County veteran received the first loan. The farmers dream had become a reality and many sub-standard dwellings in the Eighth District were replaced by modern homes as a result of Jones' efforts.

Rep. Jones was active during this period in obtaining the federal land which made the \$663,000 Athens-Limestone Hospital possible. He also was instrumental in the selection of Bridgeport, an Eighth District community, as the site for a new \$37 million TVA steam plant. He likewise urged and supported the removal of the Rocket Office from Fort Bliss, Texas, to Huntsville, Alabama - a removal that eventually brought great benefit to the District.

During this session, Representative Jones voted for rent control extension, increased public housing, a veterans pension bill, the minimum wage increase and all the other progressive legislation that helps push the nation forward.

The second session of the 81st Congress convened on January 2, 1950. Soonafterwards, Rep. Jones introduced a proposed amendment to the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act which would increase the maximum initial production and adjustment loans by the Farmers Home Administration from \$3,500 to \$7,000 and the maximum indebtedness for such purposes from \$5,000 to \$10,000. It also provided for an increase in the repayment period.

Referring to his bill, the Congressman said:

The bill which I have just introduced will give many farmers the opportunity to make the changes in their farming practices which are necessary as a result of present day conditions.

Also at this time Rep. Jones' Roads subcommittee of the Public Works Committee approved federal highway assistance to Alabama in the annual amount of \$10,631,000 for 1952 and 1953.

This Congress approved a Federal Employers Practices Commission which had been quite an issue in President Truman's proposed civil rights legislation. Rep. Jones, along with the rest of the Alabama delegation, voted for this bill since (in cooperation with the rest of the Southern delegations in Congress) they had removed all the "teeth" from the bill and it was no longer objectionable to the South - proving once again that the most effective way to defeat or mitigate "anti-Southern" legislation is within the ranks of the Democratic Party, not without as the Dixiecrats would have the people believe.

Rep. Jones, along with 3 other Alabama Congressmen, appeared before the House Appropriations Committee in support of an appropriation which would make possible a national forest survey. The survey would obviously be of great benefit to the people of Alabama since over half the land in the South is in forest. In a more personal and human vein, Jones successfully sponsored legislation to allow a young Japanese woman, Miss Ono - a student at Athens College - and her American fiance to marry.

Rep. Jones, with Senators Hill and Sparkman and most of the other Alabama Congressmen, vigorously denounced the Dixiecrat movement in Alabama and the rest of the South and urged the people of the state to remain within the national party. Political realism dictates this position - the Southern members of Congress can more effectively battle objectionable civil rights legislation within the Democratic Party, and they can certainly do far more towards pushing the South and the nation forward in all the other phases of national government by remaining national Democrats.

The inevitable result of the Dixiecrat movement would be the loss of Southern power and prestige in the federal government. A "splinter party" would be largely a powerless party.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Korean War, the Representative introduced a bill in Congress which would provide for total mobilization of material resources of industrial and other organizations, and of the services of all of the citizens of the U.S. in the event of an outbreak of total war. Commenting on this proposed bill, he said:

Each citizen should be placed equally in that struggle with no immunity, no special privilege, and no special profits for anyone or any group during such an effort.

... I am sure the American people will want to make such sacrifices ... to strike down this insidious, ungodly spread of communistic aggression.

It is interesting to note that the Congressman had also introduced this bill prior to the outbreak of hostilities in Korea.

For his service to the rural people of the area, the state and the nation, Rep. Jones received an award from the Lauderdale County Committee of the Farmers Home Administration. The award cited in particular his Rural Housing Act; the amendment to the Bankhead-Jones Act; and his successful efforts to obtain Commodity Credit loans for corn and cotton, the major cash crops of the district.

The 1st session of the 82nd Congress was convened on January 3, 1951. Rep. Jones drew two committee assignments: Public Works Committee and District of Columbia Committee.

Once again, Rep. Jones introduced a bill which would increase and liberalize the mortgage loans available under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act.

When the Korean conflict made price controls a necessity, Congressman Jones spoke out scathingly against the special interest pressure groups which descended upon Washington seeking to be exempted from control provisions.

Congressman Jones' efforts in behalf of the Tennessee Tombigbee Waterway Canal were described in the August 21, 1951, edition of the Florence Times thusly: Congressman R.E. (Bob) Jones is a strong supporter of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Canal project and during the five years he has represented the Eighth Alabama Congressional District, has testified each year before the House and Senate Appropriation Committees, asking that funds be allocated to start construction of this much needed project.

Because of his outstanding work for TVA and for conservation of all of the national resources, the young Congressman was appointed on August 25, 1951, to head a special subcommittee of the Public Works Committee: the subcommittee on Water Resources. Travels of his new committee took him to the Pacific Northwest and also to Canada to ascertain the necessity and feasibility of the proposed St. Lawrence Seaway.

Some of his other efforts during this session can be only briefly described. He introduced a bill which would permit TVA Commissioners limited expense accounts on a per diem basis. He sought an increase in stock of the Inland Waterways Corporation, and an extension of its service to the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. He sponsored regulations concerning operation and conduct of commercial vehicles in the District of Columbia and also sought more adequate forest-fire control throughout the nation. He introduced a bill which would authorize payment for damage to religious and charitable properties in Korea by United Nations forces.

On January 8, 1952, the second session of the 82nd Congress was convened. One of Rep. Jones' first endeavors in this Congress was to support legislation providing for the extension of the GI Bill of Rights to the veterans of the Korean War.

Congressman Jones, now also the Chairman of the House subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors, was taken on a tour of the Warrior River region to acquaint him with a bill soon to be introduced by Rep. Elliott calling for a survey of the possibility of further Warrior development.

With Senator John J. Sparkman, the Representative introduced a bill to put the Farm Housing Program on a permanent basis. The program was scheduled to come to an end after the next fiscal year.

As chairman of the subcommittee on Water Resources, the Congressman was deeply involved in special investigational activities. Principally these probes looked into the various dam-building agencies of the government: The Corps of Engineers, TVA, Interior Department, Agriculture Department and the International Border Commission. The purpose was to ascertain methods which would cut down on over-lapping of activities, provide greater harmony and cooperation between the agencies and generally eliminate duplication of efforts and do away with waste and thus achieve greater effectiveness and economy.

Long a great advocate and friend of public power Congressman Jones, nonetheless, is always fair-minded and quick to suggest reform wherever it is needed. In the national interest, he is always ready to criticize when such criticism is justified and he lets the chips fall where they may - even if a few fall upon the heads of his friends. It is perhaps this characteristic, more than any other, which earned him the respect of his fellow Congressmen and consequently the House listens when he speaks out vigorously for or against some measure - they, his fellow Congressmen, know he is the servant of no one except the people and the nation as a whole.

Always ready to cut the ground from under anti-TVA propaganda with the facts, the Congressman virtually annihilated an accusation that low-cost TVA power pulled shoe and textile industries from New England. The facts themselves showed this false and Jones did a masterful job of marshalling and presenting them in a manner which refuted this accusation.

Concerning the anti-TVA charge of "industry-stealing", it is appropriate to quote the gist of Rep. Jones' remarks since one paragraph is very indicative of the non-provincial and progressive character of his thought:

This myth that the industrial development of the TVA area is at the expense of development in other regions rests ultimately upon the exploded notion that this country reached its full industrial stature 20 years ago, that the problem of the future is one of dividing up a total, so when one region gains, another must necessarily be deprived. Most of us know that when one region is strengthened the country as a whole grows stronger.

I urge upon him (the accuser) the newer concept that recognizes the interdependence of all the regions in this country.

(Decatur Daily - May 5, 1952)

The Congressman introduced an amendment to the Federal Aid Highway Act which provided for the enlistment of public support for highway safety through publicity and information campaigns and a program of education in traffic safety to be conducted in the school systems.

Briefly, some of the Congressman's other contributions to this session were: he supported an extension in social security; obtained an extension in the time limit for expiration of the Farm Housing Act of 1949; fought unceasingly for the restoration of TVA funds which the Republicans had cut from the TVA appropriations; brought to the attention of the Agriculture Department the severe farm damage due to droughts in the state and successfully obtained disaster status and disaster loans for the people of Alabama.

Jones also sought authorization for experiments converting coal, lignite and oil shale to useful gases -- experiments which, if successful, would prove beneficial to the Eighth District area. Once again, he called for total mobilization of resources of the nation and services of the citizens during wartime.

The end of this session marked the end of the special sub-committee on Civil Works and Water Resources and the sub-committee published its findings and recommendations. Chairman Jones won wide praise for the report. These recommendations, if put into effect, would result in great savings to the American taxpayers by eliminating duplication, excessive planning costs, and waste. No less a proponent for economy in government than Dr. Wilford L. King, Chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Government, had this to say of Jones' recommendations: "We need, in Congress, more economyminded men like Jones of Alabama".

On January 3, 1953, the first session of the 83rd Congress began. Rep. Jones was once again appointed to the important Public Works Committee.

It is interesting to note that after studying Secretary Benson's policies and attitude for only a short time, the Representative from the Eighth District, a farmer himself, expressed his deep concern regarding Mr. Benson and his attitude towards the farmer. Time has certainly confirmed this position.

TVA, at this time, made a decision to move its headquarters from Knox-ville, Tennessee, to the Tri-Cities area as provided for in the original TVA Act. Much opposition to this decision was voiced and the Representative, true to the interests of his district, fought long and hard for approval of the decision. Unfortunately, the move was blocked in spite of the fact that it was economically desirable.

Congressman Jones was appointed to serve on a special committee in charge of plans for Capital building improvement. Jones had previously served on this committee, as well as the Committee on the Renovation of the White House which completed its work the past year. Of course, he remained on the Committee of the District of Columbia.

Once again Jones asked for an extension of his Rural Housing Act of 1949. More than 800 Alabama families had already been greatly benefited by this bill.

During this session, Ezra Benson announced that he did not intend to follow the 90 percent parity formula. Congressman Jones warned that the farmer would become the forgotten man of this Administration. He attempted to dissuade Sec. Benson.

The Congressman also sought to speed the process of naturalization of German and Austrian scientists employed at the Redstone Arsenal; asked that gifts to the Alabama Temperance Alliance, Inc. be deductible for income tax purposes; and pressed for repeal of certain provisions of the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 which would reduce annuities under the Social Security Act.

When President Eisenhower was elected he promised publically that TVA would be maintained at "maximum efficiency". In spite of that promise, in 1953 the President described TVA as "creeping socialism" and a desperate attempt to destroy the agency ensued. In the face of tremendous industrial expansion in the Valley and consequential increased power needs, the Republican dominated Congress refused necessary appropriations for expansion of TVA power facilities - and this in spite of the well-recognized fact that it would probably result in a power shortage in the year 1956. Not content with this, the Republican Congressmen, allied with private power lobbies, sought to reduce TVA's general appropriation 25 percent. The possible consequences of this action were enumerated in an editorial in the June 15, 1953, edition of the Decatur Daily:

All funds for resources development would be denied. This would stop the following TVA work, and TVA technical assistance, contractual payments and demonstrations: reforestation, fire control and all other forestry activities; a large part of TVA assistance in

agriculture; all soil and water conservation activities in small watersheds; assistance to the states in stream pollution control; all activities aimed at the development of the recreation and fish and game resources of the TVA reservoirs; the making of topographic maps used by states for highway planning and industrial location advice; and technical assistance to states and local public agencies and private organizations in planning and further economic development of this region. This action would put an end to TVA as an effective regional conservation agency. These crippling actions by the House Subcommittee leave little in TVA except electric power, and as you know, the President's Bureau of the Budget has already crippled TVA in that field by reducing the construction funds, thereby imposing a power shortage in the region for 1956.

To put it bluntly - the Administration sought to cripple and then eliminate those agencies and activities which made our valley green again and it must be recalled and emphasized that this is the very same Administration that gave away public rights in river development to private interests and then added insult to injury by granting these private interests special and unjustifiable privileges in the way of unusual tax advantages. It need hardly be added that the Administration's action in this matter, if not defeated at least partially, would put an end to the steady climb of personal income in the Valley towards the national average.

It would be impossible to list all of the Congressman's activities in defense of TVA during this session, the bills and amendments he introduced, the speeches he made, the facts he marshalled, the misconceptions he dispelled, the special interests he exposed and all the specious arguments he refuted. Suffice it to repeat the words of senior Senator Lister Hill:

The hardest, toughest and meanest fight concerning TVA occurred during this the last session of Congress. Like Stonewall Jackson of old, Rep. Jones fought for TVA.

In Washington, we call him "Mr. TVA".

The second session of the 83rd Congress began on January 6, 1954, and, as usual, Congressman Jones was in the thick of it. These were difficult times indeed for the supporters of the Tennessee Valley Authority and also for the cotton farmers since the Administration seemed to be blind to the vital interests of both of these groups.

Secretary Benson instituted a drastic cotton allotment program which in 12 Alabama counties would not give each farmer five acres of cotton, regardless of how much he may have planted in the past. Congressman Jones, with Senators Hill and Sparkman, fought arduously for an increase in the acreage allotment for cotton but their efforts were largely ignored by the Administration and hard times intensified for the Southern cotton farmers.

Senator Sparkman and Congressman Jones continued their efforts for an extension of the Rural Housing Act which provided funds and loans for better farm homes and service buildings. The figures demonstrated that this bill was quite successful. 19,000 farm families had put the measure to good use and yet, in Alabama alone, over 99 percent of the borrowers were either upto-date or ahead in their repayment schedule.

The bitter attack of the Administration against TVA was renewed in this session and Rep. Jones played a role of considerable leadership in defending the agency and keeping intact its excellent program which had laid the ground-work for so much progress in the valley.

This period in the valley was marked by long and damaging droughts and once again the Congressman helped to make drought assistance aid available.

At this time about half of the entire kilowatt output of the TVA was used by the Atomic Energy Commission facilities in Oak Ridge and other areas for the vital purpose of national defense.

The TVA rates, of course, were considerably lower than those of private utilities and saved the government enormous sums compared to what it would have had to pay in the absence of TVA. In spite of this the Budget Bureau directed the AEC to accept the Dixon-Yates proposal to provide the power for the atomic energy plants at Oak Ridge. This is the Administration which criticized TVA as a Federal subsidy to the 5 million people of the valley. Yet it did not hesitate to enter into a contract with these private power groups the terms of which provided that the Dixon-Yates groups would invest only 5 percent of the total cost - the rest they would borrow. The contract also included a government guarantee of a 9 percent return on their equity after all taxes, including income tax, were paid. Apparently "subsidies" to 5 million people were undesirable. However, subsidies to a very few were somehow different and altogether desirable according to the "double-think" of this Republican Administration.

Cliche or not, the fact remains that the Democratic Party is the party of the people and the GOP is the servant of special interests. Of course, the GOP believes it is serving the people by serving the special interests - the old routine in this case would be "what's good for Dixon-Yates is good for the country."

The battle raged throughout this session of Congress and into the next. The Dixon-Yates "deal" was so rank that the contract was eventually cancelled and Memphis decided to construct facilities which would provide the necessary power and it did so without the guaranteed profit and other benefits that the Administration extended to Dixon-Yates.

The Congressman that Lister Hill called Mr. TVA' summed up the whole mess in the following manner:

Since taking office, President Eisenhower has failed to request funds to keep TVA's expansion and growth proportionate to the needs of the people of the area; has failed to request funds to provide the TVA resource development program; has given TVA the defamatory characterization of "creeping socialism", has failed to re-appoint Gordon Clapp, the able and conscientious TVA Board Chairman. And finally, the

most recent slap at TVA is the directive which the President himself issued to the Atomic Energy Commission that this agency, over its own protests, should contract with private utilities companies for a large amount of electric power to be delivered to the TVA some 250 miles or more away. The contract, if signed would mean that over the minimum period of the contract the excess to the government for this power from this private source would be over \$92 million at the very minimum.

The Atomic Energy Commission is being used as a reluctant power broker by the President to prove that this Administration looks upon private power operations with a favorable eye. It is a shameful story of greed and venality. It is a story of cunning speculators with a bold plan to obtain a "fast buck" while acting in total disregard for the public interest.

Troubled by the droughts that were damaging his area and large areas of the nation, the Congressman did more than just seek aid to alleviate the effects of the condition. He sought to solve the problem by striking at its cause. The result was that with Senator Lister Hill he introduced a bill that would encourage irrigation facilities development through long-term loans and assistance by the U.S. Department of Agriculture to farmer groups, soil-conservation districts, municipalities and other public bodies organized for the purpose of carrying out irrigation projects. Unfortunately, Congress adjourned before considering the bill.

The Congressman was active on many other fronts during this session.

He supported educational aid to children of servicemen who died during World War II and the Korean conflict; he urged a permit which would provide for a term of court for the Northeastern Division to be held at Huntsville and Decatur; sought an amendment to the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 which would put loans to farm housing on equal terms with residential housing; and introduced an amendment to the cotton marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 increasing cotton acreage.

One of the most significant accomplishments of Congressman Jones and one which concerns most directly the 8th District of Alabama was the authorization of the flood control and drainage project for Paint Rock River, which was adopted by the Congress in the Flood Control Act of 1954. The interesting aspect of this project is that it was recommended by the Chief of Engineers, the Secretary of the Army and the Bureau of the Budget on the basis that local interests contribute in cash 50 percent of the cost of the project allocated to so-called land enhancement or major drainage. This contribution was over and above the local contribution for land and rights of way which are normal in flood control projects.

Congressman Jones opposed this recommendation and made a strong presentation to the committee during its consideration of the matter demonstrating that there was no fundamental difference between land enhancement, major drainage, and flood control and that since the Federal government was authorized to participate 100 percent in the construction cost of flood control projects

this should also apply to major drainage. His presentation convinced the committee that the recommendations of the reporting officials should be overridden and it authorized the project on the basis of no cash contribution from local interests. This not only resulted in a saving of more than a half-million dollars to local interests along the Paint Rock River but, in effect, represented the difference between a feasible project and no project at all because it is very doubtful if the financial position of the local people would have permitted them to raise this sum of money in addition to the costs of land and rights of way and the necessary upstream drainage work which they have to provide to take full advantage of the main Federal project. The benefits to be derived can easily be visualized. From 1936 to 1952, 134 floods occurred serious enough to cause some damage to crops, including 53 floods of major proportion.

On the lighter side of the political scene, the Congressman's record was equally distinguished. His play in the annual Congressional ball-game earned the following praise from Rep. Herlong, the Democratic team manager:

I was particularly impressed with the work of Rep. Jones of Alabama. He could actually bend over and pick up a ground ball. He could also throw from third to first.

If Rep. Herlong had checked with the Administration, he would probably have discovered that Jones possesses an excellent curve ball as well.

On January 5, 1955, the 1st session of the 84th Congress convened. It became apparent almost immediately that the battle for TVA was to continue as furiously as before. The President recommended a 100 million dollar reduction in the TVA's operating program. Such an enormous reduction would in the words of Senator Sparkman "bring about the death of TVA." Rep. Jones said the budget "constitutes an unrestrained vengeance not only against the TVA as a government agency but against an entire region of our republic."

At this time, the Congressman was made chairman of the subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds of the Public Works Committee. He also served on the important Government Operations Committee.

Senator Sparkman and Congressman Jones moved for a re-enactment of the Rural Farm Housing Act that they had previously sponsored. The year before Congress extended the program but President Eisenhower and Secretary Benson virtually let the program die in spite of the fact that they were well aware that 75 per cent of all farm houses still lacked hot water, private baths, and toilet facilities. This was also extremely unfortunate since virtually all loans extended under this Act were being repaid on time and many ahead of schedule.

This was, incidentally, the same year that the Administration proposed the multi-billion dollar highway program. The Administration and the Republican members of Congress apparently felt that while we could afford billions for roads, we couldn't afford to make available several millions in loans to provide sanitary and decent living conditions on America's farms.

In line with the aforementioned attitude of the Administration was its proposal that the school lunch program be reduced by \$15,000,000. Rep. Jones strongly criticized this move and promised to do all in his power to see that the funds were restored.

Throughout his years in Congress, the Representative has been an ardent supporter of the Rural Electrification Administration. The task force of the Hoover Commission recommended at this time that REA be abolished and the co-ops be required to depend entirely upon private financing for their expansion -a "give-away" of the government's equity in its present investment was also involved in this plan. Congressman Jones' statement regarding this proposal follows in part:

REA has done more than electrify rural America. It has improved the efficiency and productivity of our farms and has raised the standard of living for farm people. I think it is one of the most valuable programs our Government has ever undertaken, and I will do all in my power to see that it is continued without impairment.

The Hoover Commission also recommended that the Commodity Credit Corporation be re-organized. The re-organization called for a discontinuance of advance payments for commodities placed in the loan and proposed only purchase agreements with producers. Jones calculated that the Hoover plan, if adopted, would destroy ordinary marketing of products carried on by the farmers and the CCC and strongly urged that the proposals be disregarded.

Secretary Benson decided during this session that the interest rates on disaster loans should be raised from 3 to 5 percent. He gave as his justification - "to prevent abuse of the loan privilege by farmers able to qualify for private credit". Benson remarked, "We will have fewer people trying to get Farmers Home Administration loans at the 5 percent rate". Congressman Jones charged that this was simply another indication that Benson did not understand the disaster situations and had no faith in the administrative ability of his own Department and the county committees which processed and analyzed the disaster loans. The Representative introduced a bill which called for 3 percent interest on such loans.

The House passed an irrigation bill which provided \$106 million in funds for loans to local agencies for the construction of small water-supply projects. An amendment offered by Congressman Jones was adopted giving the Secretary of Agriculture jurisdiction over the program in the 32 southern and eastern states. The Congressman remarked on the adoption of his amendment: "I was very pleased that my amendment was adopted so that the people in the South and other areas can have the benefit of these irrigation loans along with western reclamation states."

Rep. Jones, as chairman of the House Public Works sub-committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, sponsored a bill authorizing construction of a Museum of History and Technology to relieve the acute shortage of space which the Smithsonian Institution was experiencing.

The Hoover Commission also proposed that tolls be levied on every navigable river in the country. Toll rates were to be based on shipping tonnage and the depreciated value of federal investment in existing navigation facilities. The region would have suffered great economic loss under this scheme since TVA's total investment in the Tennessee River navigation facilities is \$158 million.

Jones pointed out that the navigable streams of the U.S. have been maintained by the federal government to encourage trade and commerce since the days of George Washington, and that such a scheme would be just as plausible and just as sensible as charging tolls on every highway in the United States. Jones, a member of the committee which would have jurisdiction over the plan, predicted it would be overwhelmingly defeated.

It was quite apparent to the people and the politicians of the Tennessee Valley that the Administration had the objective of destroying the TVA and it was also apparent that a great effort in many fields was necessary if the agency was to be preserved and protected. Something had to be done. Congressman Jones and Congressman Clifford Davis came up with the solution: self-financing. They introduced a bill in the House which would enable TVA to finance the construction of new power plants through the issuance of revenue bonds instead of relying entirely on appropriations. Under this plan, the TVA budget still would be subject to the same review and scrutiny by the Bureau of the Budget and by the Congress that the budgets of all other corporations receive, but at the same time the TVA Board would have the degree of flexibility necessary to meet its responsibilities for maintaining a sufficient power supply. Also, the investment of the taxpayers in the TVA power plant would be fully protected by a provision requiring payment into the Treasury of an annual return equal to the government's cost of money.

The solution was now available. The problem was getting this legislation past an Administration which was completely hostile and unreasonable on the subject of TVA and public power in general.

In his role as chairman of the Public Buildings and Grounds sub-committee, the Representative put through a bill authorizing construction of some necessary Federal office buildings in Washington, D.C. The Washington Post, the capital's leading newspaper, praised the Congressman editorially for sponsoring this needed legislation.

At this time, TVA and an association of five private power companies were constructing comparable steam plants to serve the Atomic Energy Commission. The former was constructing the Shawnee and the latter group was constructing the Joppa Steam Plant. The Joppa had priority in the scramble for equipment and scarce materials and sought to make propaganda for the alleged superiority of the private utilities by finishing their facility at an earlier date.

But the final results were much to the embarrassment of the private utilities and provided the subject matter of an address delivered on the House Floor by, 'Mr. TVA', Congressman Jones. He acidly pointed out that the Shawnee plant was in operation before the Joppa in spite of the fact that the latter enjoyed an equipment priority and was supported by the combined efforts of five private utilities. The record also showed that the Shawnee was built just as inexpensively on a proportionate formula, and that its estimated cost and actual cost were much closer than that of the Joppa Plant. It was also apparent that the construction cost per kilowatt of production would be less in the Shawnee than in the Joppa. Many other interesting comparisons were drawn as the Congressman exploded the myth that the private utilities operate more efficiently than TVA. He also made some interesting observations regarding the 8 percent "guaranteed return" contract which the private utilities secured from the Government.

Finally, the Congressman concluded: "All of us will join in congratulating the private companies whenever they are able to get the Joppa plant in operation. But let us at the same time warn them that we are weary of their ceaseless misrepresentations, endeavoring to discredit TVA."

Another grave blow was struck at TVA and public power in general by the Hoover Commission report. This report recommended drastic overhaul of federal policies, including subordinating the Army Engineers to the President's Budget Bureau, charging tolls on inland waterways, and curbing TVA. A tremendous amount of opposition to the Hoover report was voiced almost as soon as its recommendations were published. Congressman Jones - a recognized authority on water resources, conservation, and electric power in the House - was appointed Chairman of a House Government Operations Special Subcommittee on Water Resources and Power. The purpose of this subcommittee was to examine the Hoover recommendations and publish recommendations in its own report. During Congressional recess, when other Congressmen were relaxing, the Jones subcommittee made a rugged 18,000 mile swing around the country sounding out grass-roots sentiment on the Hoover report. It is interesting to note that the great majority of the witnesses appearing before Jones condemned the Hoover proposals. These hearings were to continue for quite some time and, of course, the subcommittee also engaged in exhaustive research on its own.

The Congressman also introduced a bill calling for increased cotton acreage allotments and called for a stipulation making it mandatory for the county committee to provide a minimum acreage of 5 acres for the small operators.

He sought an amendment to the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 to authorize loans for farm housing on terms equal to residential housing.

The second session of the 84th Congress convened early in January, 1956. One of Rep. Jones' first moves was to introduce a bill to restore 1955 cotton acreage allotments to Alabama and all other states given reduced allotments for 1956 by the Department of Agriculture.

Although the 1955 allotments left much to be desired, this measure would provide some relief from the even more drastic cuts planned for 1956. The Decatur Daily commented as follows on the farmers plight:

The only legislation which has even a ghost of a chance for adoption is the proposal by Rep. Robert Jones, of the Eighth Alabama District, that cotton acreage be frozen on the 1955 levels and there is going to be one whale of a fight made against that when the measure hits the floor of the Congress.

The Congressman was also very active during this session in his role as chairman of the subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds and participated in a master plan to further the Federal building program. The Washington Star commented as follows on July 18, 1956:

The General Services Administration which drew up Washington's new long-range Federal buildings program and Representative Jones of Alabama, who initiated it, have performed an exceptional service to the Nation's Capital.

In recognition of his extensive efforts in behalf of the Rural Electrification Administration, the REA invited Jones to address its national convention in Washington. Congressman Jones was introduced as "one of the finest friends in Congress of the REA and the Federal power program, including TVA"; and speaking of the farmers, "They know him as a champion of the rural people of Alabama and the nation."

The Congressman and his special subcommittee turned up some interesting facts regarding the Hoover Commission whose report suggested the sale of TVA and other similar projects. Especially revealing was the fact that although the first Hoover Commission meeting was supposed to be strictly official and closed to all but Commission members, nonetheless one outsider was admitted. This gentleman just happened to be Carl Byoir, a high-powered Madison Avenue public-relations expert, who had been running a propaganda campaign against the TVA.

The Jones committee also turned up the interesting fact that the head of the Hoover task force on water resources, Adm. Ben Moreell, had characterized TVA as "creeping socialism" before he was selected to judge TVA-type projects. All of which greatly enforced Rep. Jones' charge that the Hoover group was packed with biased members who set out with the pre-conceived purpose of discrediting TVA and other such public projects regardless of the facts.

Indeed, another similar commission, the President's advisory committee on water resources, was so prejudiced and blinded to the facts that in its 15,000 word report on past, present and future water resource development, the TVA was never mentioned - not one reference. And this in spite of the fact that the TVA is the largest such project in the world. It is truly a sad state of affairs when a committee entrusted with formulating water resource policy can be as indifferent to the facts as this group obviously was. Their procedure apparently was, "if the facts don't agree withour theories then we'll ignore the facts". It hardly need be mentioned that the national interest is not served by such an attitude.

The cotton farmers situation in Alabama was fast becoming drastic under Sec. Benson's farm program and a whole way of life was endangered. Commissioner of Agriculture A.W. Todd and a delegation of farmers from Alabama journeyed to Washington to give testimony of the great need for remedial legislation and urged passage of the Jones' bill which would freeze allotments at the 1955 level. The Alabama delegation was particularly incensed over the fact that while the 1956 cotton allotments were reduced in southern states some western states received increases.

Regarding a more sensitive issue facing the South, Rep. Jones, with 95 other Representatives and Senators, signed a "Southern Manifesto" which urged that all lawful means be exercised in seeking to reverse the Supreme Court's school de-segregation decision of May, 1954. The spirit and the purpose of this statement can be gathered from its final paragraphs:

We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution. . . .

In this trying period, as we all seek to right this wrong, we appeal to our people not to be provoked by the agitators and troublemakers invading our states and to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts.

Largely as a result of the vigorous efforts of Congressman Jones and some other members of Congress, along with the farmers who brought their story in person to the Capital, Congress passed an omnibus farm bill which froze cotton allotments at the 1956 level. The Congressman received a congratulatory telegram from the farmers Alabama Hardship Committee which stated in part that if the Congressman had not pressed for a 1955 freeze this bill would not have provided for the 1956 freeze on allotments. There were also several other provisions in the bill as passed which would have provided considerable relief for Alabama farmers.

The President vetoed the bill. Rep. Jones immediately joined in the introduction of another measure which would provide relief but there was small hope of it ever becoming effective - the attitude of the Administration was now quite apparent.

The House of Representatives passed the greatest highway program ever launched by the Government during this session. Many power lines, of course, would have to be relocated when the program went into effect. Rep. Jones introduced an amendment regarding relocation of lines which was commented on as follows by columnist Drew Pearson:

..... but an amendment by Rep. Robert E. Jones (D. Ala.) eliminates windfall profits for the big privately owned utilities. AT&T had lobbied for an earlier version of the bill which would have required Federal reimbursement to utilities even when contrary to state law.

The Congressman devoted much of his time during this session to the preparation of the Federal Highway Program.

Later, the Representative was instrumental in working out a compromise farm bill which passed both houses of Congress and received the approval of the Administration. This compromise measure froze allotments at the 1956 level and thereby prevented the further cuts which were previously scheduled to take place in the future.

The Alabama Congressional delegation and the efforts of the farmers of Alabama had a great deal to do with this partial victory.

Jones, along with others, received commendation from the "Citizens for TVA" group for "a gallant, uncompromising and astute campaign" to obtain passage of the supplemental appropriations bill which reaffirmed TVA's right to use its own power revenue for additional generating capacity. Temporarily, at least, the TVA had managed to side-step the Administration's death axe, a maneuver in which Jones had played no mean part.

The Democratic Congress pushed through a Public Works Appropriations Billat this time which provided money for the construction of the badly needed lock at Wilson Dam which had been quite a bottleneck in river traffic. The measure also provided funds for planning work on the proposed Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Canal - a project strongly backed by Rep. Jones.

It must not be assumed from the many battles that the Representative fought with the Administration over agriculture and TVA that he was unwilling to cooperate with the other party when a proposed measure was in the national

interest. Such an assumption would be erroneous. Indeed, during this session the Congressman even introduced a bill at the request of the President which asked for a study commission to find adequate office space for the White House.

Some of the Congressman's other efforts during this session can only be discussed briefly. He strongly opposed the Powell Amendment to the proposed education bill since the amendment would deny Federal aid to segregated schools. He introduced an amendment to the Tariff Act of 1930 on crude bauxite to aid Alabama's aluminum industry. He was instrumental in the reopening of the Shoals Nursery and was appointed Chairman of Natural Resources for the State of Alabama during the 1956 national political campaign. Democratic State Chairman Mayhall described Jones as "better equipped to deal with this issue than any man in Alabama."

The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education revealed that to their way of thinking on the "20 major issues" before Congress during the decade Jones had the best record of all Alabama Representatives.

During the session, the Representative was appointed to the Special Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures. Congressman Jones recommended that a rigid limit be placed on the sum that any individual of either party can contribute to a national campaign. He offered this limitation because, as he said, "a big contributor has reasonable assurance of favors being returned by the recipient candidate or party."

He also served on the Executive and Legislative Re-Organization sub-committee and the Intergovernmental Relations subcommittee. These assignments, of course, were in addition to his regular position as Chairman of the Public Buildings and Grounds subcommittee of the Committee on Public Works, and his posts on the Government Operations Committee, and the Roads and Flood Control subcommittees of the Committee on Public Works.

The 85th Congress convened on January 3, 1957, and Rep. Jones took his familiar seats on the Public Works Committee and the Government Operations Committee. The Representative, as in previous sessions, served as chairman of the Public Works subcommittee on Buildings and Grounds and also as chairman of the Government Operations special subcommittee on Water Resources and Power. After ten years of service in the Congress, he brought great experience and a good deal of seniority to these varied positions. The importance of the various Congressional committees cannot be overemphasized - it is here that the real work of Congress is accomplished.

The long bitter fight to pass a self-financing plan for TVA was really begun in earnest. The Congressman introduced a measure which would authorize the TVA to finance construction of new power facilities through the issuance of revenue bonds instead of relying entirely on appropriations from Congress - appropriations which were becoming increasingly impossible to secure due to the hostile Administration. And there was obviously no change in the President's attitude since he endorsed the 1956 report of his cabinet committee on water resources and power which agreed generally with the Hoover report urging abandonment by the Federal Government of its constitutional primary responsibilities in water resource development. These

proposals also disparaged the multiple-purpose type of development - the only scheme which really develops, utilizes, and conserves the vital resources of an entire river basin. The Huntsville Times commented as follows on the situation:

The TVA is approaching the capacity of its generating facilities. It has been paying for additional units the past few months out of its own power revenues. It can't go on much further. The President's budget provided no funds...

The alternative is a self-financing bill. The Jones bill is favored by TVA, because it continues the integrity of the agency, and seeks to maintain its operation on the same objectives, on which it was established almost a quarter century ago.

This, however, does not meet the wishes of the Budget Bureau or of President Eisenhower.

The Administration and the Power Trust fought Federal appropriations to expand TVA on the basis that such appropriations were "subsidies" (actually TVA must repay all such funds) and on the other hand they battled the self-financing plan in spite of the fact that it would eliminate such "subsidies." Actually, such a position is not as paradoxical as it sounds, not when reviewed in the light of the real interest of the Administration: the destruction of public power.

Time and time again in hearings on the self-financing bill, the Representative had to refute the same old weary objections to the TVA. One example was an accusation by a Kansas Congressman that TVA constituted a subsidy to the valley paid by Kansas dollars. Jones pointed out that the people of the Tennessee Valley did not complain when Kansas received flood disaster relief in the amount of \$38 million, nor did the TVA area complain when a huge Federal project, the Tuttle Creek Dam, was approved for Kansas. In one form or another the Power Trust is constantly pressing the accusation that Federal tax dollars from all over the country are unjustly being spent in one particular locale - the seven state, five million people, TVA area. This accusation manages to ignore the fact that this is necessarily the case with all Federal projects - they can only be located in one place - and obviously dams cannot be built where there are no suitable rivers.

The Public Works Committee has jurisdiction over legislation affecting TVA and the Congressman testified before it on behalf of the self-financing bill and, of course, helped to carry on the hearings from his position on the committee. The committee members have the opportunity to cross-examine the individuals who testify. Needless to say, some of the representatives of the Power Trust had some very uncomfortable moments before the committee.

Some have indicated that they felt Congressman Jones' charges against the Administration's water resources and power policies were somewhat exaggerated. Perhaps this can best be refuted by citing the sordid situation which Senator Kefauver's Senate subcommittee on Anti-Trust and Monopoly brought to light. Mr. Gordon Gray, Director of Defense Mobilization, was

brought in for questioning on why he issued tax write-off certificates to the Idaho Power Company to cover 65 percent of the estimated cost of \$67 million for the Brownlee Dam and 60 percent of the \$36 million cost for the Oxbow Dam in spite of the fact that Secretary of the Interior, Fred A. Seaton, had strongly opposed these tax cuts as unnecessary. He was also questioned regarding a memorandum which the subcommittee had discovered which indicated that the private power company's application for tax cuts had been "cleared" with Sherman Adams, Administrative Assistant to the President, and other presidential assistants. Mr. Gray refused to answer eight questions regarding this memorandum.

Apparently, this sort of behavior was beginning to be noticed by the members of Congress and a slightly different attitude was emerging. In the annual fight for appropriations, the House voted 244 to 158 to defeat an amendment which would have reduced TVA appropriations from approximately \$13 million to \$3.5 million. It was the most substantial margin that pro-TVA forces in the House had been able to achieve in several years.

The Public Works Committee reported the Jones self-financing bill favorably but it subsequently met a snag in the Rules Committee and no further progress was made in passing this legislation. Several other bills regarding self-financing were introduced and some were inspired by the Administration which carried clauses and stipulations which would defeat the whole purpose of the agency in general and self-financing in particular.

Legislation in this session was held back by a long and partially successful (for the South) battle over a civil rights bill. Needless to say, Rep. Jones fought long and hard for the Southern cause.

The passing of Raymond Paty left a vacancy on the TVA Board of Directors and President Eisenhower nominated Arnold R. Jones to fill the position. The nominee was unacceptable to the friends of TVA since he admitted that he had grave reservations about the wisdom and feasibility of the TVA Act. Rep. Jones fought the nomination since Herbert Vogal, Chairman of the three man TVA Board, was also a Presidential appointee and, in the words of the Congressman, "had demonstrated his willingness and even his enthusiasm for following the directives of the President and the Budget Bureau." These directives were altogether detrimental to the vital interests of the agency as has been shown previously. The appointment of Mr. Arnold Jones would give enemies of TVA a majority vote on the Board of Directors of the agency itself—this incidentally, in flagrant violation of the intended "non-political" character of the TVA. Congressman Jones commented rather drily as follows:

I believe that neither I nor the people of the Tennessee Valley will be considered presumptuous if we say that we believe the law calls for a better man...

In the present circumstances neither the TVA, nor the people who stand in partnership with it, nor yet the nation which owns the TVA, can afford the luxury of a director who has such reservations about the wisdom of the TVA Act.

In spite of the Congressman's efforts and in defiance of the needs of the agency, Mr. Arnold Jones eventually was confirmed and now sits on the Board of Directors of a governmental agency which he believes should be destroyed.

All of which is just another example of how President Eisenhower fulfilled his campaign promise to maintain TVA at "maximum efficiency." However, the destructive efforts of the Administration were often defeated and as Rep. Elliott, of Alabama, said:

If I had to select one man in the House of Representatives who has done more to preserve TVA, it would be your own Bob Jones. His efforts have been like an arm in the dike against the angry waters threatening TVA.

On another embattled front the Congressman introduced a new cotton bill which, if passed, would provide \$8 million to Alabama cotton farmers in compensation for cotton acreage they lost to other states since 1950. This compensation was to be made in the form of Soil Bank payments. Ten members of the House joined in the presentation of this proposal. Mr. Maynard Layman commented in the Decatur Daily, "The thanks and deep appreciation of all cotton farmers should go to Bob Jones." This bill also provided for metes and bounds measurements which would afford a more accurate survey and eliminate many injustices. Another important provision stipulated that the cotton producing states be guaranteed at least 99 per cent of present acreage through 1958. The Cotton Hardship Committee endorsed this bill 100%.

The inequities in the Republican cotton program can best be illustrated by the following figures listing cotton acreage reductions in the state compared with the nation:

Alabama

1950 1,294,315 acres

1957 1,028,000 acres

Difference - 266,315 acres

Nation

1950 17,948,000 acres

1957

17,585,000 acres

Difference - 363,000 acres

All of which means that Alabama absorbed 73 per cent of the entire national cut between 1950 and 1957.

Citing another indication of the failure of the Benson farm program, Congressman Jones reported the following:

On January 20, 1953, when Benson took over the Agriculture Department, the total price support losses that had been accumulated over the previous 20 years amounted to \$1,064,017,225. On January 1, 1957, after four years of Benson management of the Agriculture Department, these losses amounted to \$4,005,229,643. Thus, we find that four years of "Bensonism" have cost the taxpayers almost three times as much as 20 years of Democratic administration of the department. In addition to this deplorable situation in the farm picture, we should also point out that since Benson took over the welfare of our farmers in 1953, farm income has dropped nearly nine billion dollars.

The Cotton Hardship Committee again came to Washington to tell their story in person. Congressman Jones presented them to the House subcommittee and the Hardship Committee testified in support of Jones' new cotton bill. These hearings brought to light some interesting facts - facts which explain why Rep. Jones has fought so hard for cotton farmer relief legislation. Over 21,556 farm families quit their farms in Alabama during the period between 1950 and 1957. During the same period, approximately 300,000 farmers across the nation deserted farming. The number of cotton gins fell from 1200 to 300 during the same years and across the nation some 250,000 farmers were on relief.

The President's attitude towards this situation was revealed in a press conference. The President was asked for some reasons explaining the rising cost of living and his reply follows:

Now part of that rise, of course, is due to the deliberate policy to bring to the farmers their own proper share of national income. We say "proper share" and I am not sure what that means but, as you know, they have taken certain years to be representative of justice in this matter, and have tried to approach that through all sorts of laws.

Referring to Government programs in general at this same conference, President Eisenhower remarked there are "probably only a very few of them that should be dropped." He cited "the farm program" and "water antipollution program" as "things of that character" which the Government can do without.

As the session drew to a close, the controversy over national farm policy became rigidly stalemated and both sides gathered their forces for the coming battle in the next session.

When the Congressman returned to his district, he made a tour of all seven counties. The result of this personal investigation was a telegram to the Secretary of Agriculture pointing out that crops in the area had been devastated by constant rains for 30 days and imploring relief from the Agriculture Department. Forty-five counties in North and Central Alabama were soon made eligible for emergency crop disaster aid. The Congressman also secured emergency FHA loans for several counties in the district.

In his position as chairman of the subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds, the Representative started a crusade to do away with the Administration's scheme for "lease-purchase" of public buildings and sought a return to the old method of direct Congressional appropriation.

The Milwaukee Journal supported the Jones crusade in the following editorial:

Testimony from two branches of the Government about the Administration's lease-purchase plan leads to an inescapable conclusion. Under the lease-purchase plan, the Government, instead of appropriating funds for the construction of post offices, court houses and similar buildings, signs a contract with private interests which then construct the buildings and rent them to the Government.

After 20 years the buildings become Government property, but in the meantime, the Government has paid rentals large enough to cover not only construction costs, but the financing charges and profits of the private enterprises it has dealt with. On 146 Federal buildings planned, the Government would pay \$634,500,000 more than it would pay if the same structures were built directly under direct appropriations.

The committee then heard Franklin G. Floete, head of the General Services Administration, explain why the lease-purchase plan has bogged down. It can be made to work, he said, if the U.S. Treasury will allow higher interest payments than at present and if construction costs estimates are increased eleven per cent. In other words, the Government is unable to get its building done by the lease-purchase method unless it is willing to pay a great deal more than the \$635,500,000 in excess costs already in sight under the program as now set up . . .

The Congressman introduced a bill to scuttle this lease-purchase plan. Later in the session, the subcommittee approved the bill which authorized the construction of 141 projects by direct appropriations rather than by the Administration's scheme.

Once again, during this session, Congressman Jones led a tour of House Members through the TVA system in order that they might get a first hand look at its great contribution to the Valley. This touring group was especially interested in flood control and TVA's record in this regard is especially outstanding. The total investment in flood control in the entire system is \$184,000,000 and yet during the years between 1944 and 1959 the TVA has averted flood damages in the amount of \$140,360,000. This is 76 per cent of the total flood control cost and covers a period of only 16 years.

At this time there were also some indications from the Department of Defense that the Huntsville Arsenal might be closed. It was apparent that this suggestion was inspired by bickering and controversy between the various services rather than by the real merits and exigencies of the situation. Time has confirmed the wisdom of the Representative's effort in opposing this suggestion since an overwhelming majority of our successful missiles have been developed at the Redstone Arsenal. Jones described Colonel Nickerson (an officer who got into trouble because he wrote an explosive memorandum to Congressional members in defense of Redstone) as the victim of "political persecution brought on by the Air Force as part of its plan to discredit the work going on at Redstone Arsenal in the development of missiles."

The Representative introduced a bill to extend for a year the Government's program of free polio shots to persons under twenty and to expectant mothers. Again, he introduced two bills which would block an estimated two billion dollar raid on the Federal Highway Trust Fund by both public and private utilities - proving once more his great objectivity since the Congressman is public power's great friend in the Congress. He supported a new corn price stabilization program in the face of fierce opposition and also supported an extension in the veterans direct home loan program.

Aside from his legislative activities, Jones made some valuable suggestions and strongly urged Alabamians to promote tourist trade in the state. He was instrumental in securing \$30,000 for planning of the suggested Paint Rock flood control project - a project which he aided and encouraged at every possible opportunity. Jones also pressed for legislation providing Federal aid to help end the fire ant menace in over 40 Alabama counties. Some 12 million Alabama acres were affected by this menace and over \$25 million in damage had already been inflicted.

He also sponsored an amendment to the National Housing Act which would permit the sale of mortgages of individuals, and a bill authorizing the construction of a national monument to symbolize the ideals of democracy. Jones also led a successful fight against Alabama being placed under wheat allotments for wheat planters in 1957-58.

The second session of the 85th Congress began on January 7, 1958. The Congressman's long years of service in the House gave him considerable seniority - the all important criterion when the leadership positions of the various Congressional committees are determined.

The real sources of power in Congress rest in these important positions since, as mentioned earlier, it is in the committees that most of the work of the Federal Government is accomplished. On the basis of his seniority, Rep. Jones stepped up to the chairmanship of the Public Works and Resources subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee. At the beginning of this session, the past chairman had resigned to accept a judgeship. This subcommittee position was in addition to his now familiar positions on the Public Works Committee and his chairmanship of an important subcommittee of that full committee, along with the other committees briefly mentioned previously. His two major committees and the two subcommittees of which he was now chairman were directly concerned with TVA and other subjects of interest to the Eighth District.

Again in this session an immense effort was made to push Jones' self-financing bill through the Congress. No piece of legislation in recent years has been the object of so much vicious opposition - especially from the Members of Congress who "represent" the big private power companies. Jones' Public Works Committee had jurisdiction over the bill and it is hardly necessary to say that his efforts in getting a favorable committee report were exhaustive and highly commendable. These efforts were also successful since, after much debate and discussion, the committee sent the bill to the House with a favorable recommendation.

However, the Rules Committee (which schedules the legislation that each Congress will consider) voted 8-2 not to consider the TVA self-financing bill during this session. The battle was apparently lost and most of TVA's friends despaired of securing consideration of the measure. Infuriated by this action on the part of the Rules Committee, Rep. Jones cornered House Speaker Sam Rayburn and later House Democratic Leader John McCormack for conferences. Twenty-four hours later, the Rules Committee decided to consider the bill after all. Unfortunately, the House was in session only a short time after Jones forced the bill out of the Rules Committee and didn't consider the bill before adjournment. In an angered and determined manner, Jones resolved that the next session would be the time. Jones laid the groundwork for passage of this bill by tireless efforts to refute the misinformed accusations made against TVA and by constantly bringing before the public the real record of the agency. During one such presentation of the TVA record, the Congressman pointed out:

. . . But TVA is its own best defense. Cold facts prove it has been a blessing for millions of citizens, a solid investment by Uncle Sam and one of the best salesmen for democracy in a world where democracy is challenged. Even 15 years ago, Julian Huxley, the British scientist, said: "In almost every country, the initials TVA stand for the use of a single river to meet all the needs of man." John Gunther, the reporter and world observer, said: "Quite possibly, the TVA is the greatest single invention of the century, the biggest contribution the United States has made to society in the modern world."

Admiration for TVA in foreign countries is almost limitless, for 40 nations have imitations and complete copies of it and proudly call their installation, "TVA."

In fact, during this session of Congress, France selected TVA as a model for a similar project in Algeria. The Congressman at another time during this session pointed out that Soviet Russia in its attempt to overtake America in industrial strength built huge projects which used TVA as an engineering and technical model.

Jones repeatedly brought to the attention of the people that in the U.S. Constitution the Federal Government is given the primary responsibility of developing and regulating the rivers and harbors of the nation and, consequently, if TVA is "socialistic" then our founding fathers apparently were also - which is, of course, absurd.

Many also charged the Federal farm program was "socialistic" but the Congressman wrote an article for the Progressive Farmer that demonstrated that farm programs are as old as America itself. Virginia, for example, as far back as the 17th century, had Government regulations and controls regarding farm products and acre limitations, etc. The Congressman concluded, "If we may judge from what is preserved in the official and private correspondence of the period, public sentiment strongly upheld these restriction laws which were so opposed to the individualistic traditions and habits of the people." In other words, the difficulty the American farmer was experiencing was not the effect of having a farm program in general; rather the difficulty was in the Benson program in particular.

Returning to TVA, the Chief Accountant of the Federal Power Commission, Russell C. Rainwater, testified that private utility companies received subsidies in the form of "fast tax write-offs" in the amount of \$2,621,318,000 in 1955-57. This is indeed a strange policy for an Administration which claims that it seeks to get the Federal Government out of the sphere of business. The Congressman pointed out that if TVA had been a private utility, it would have paid taxes of \$170 million over the past 24 years, but that it had paid the U.S. Treasury and local governments, \$212 million, or \$42 million more than would have been paid under private ownership.

On August 10, 1958, The Florence Times commented as follows:

... It is with a great deal of respect and honor that we call Bob Jones of Scottsboro our Congressman... When it comes to plain hard fighting in the public interest and in behalf of TVA and other water resources developments, as well as other major issues,

one has to give great credit to Bob Jones, if fairness is to be the rule applied in judging his efforts.

The faith that Bob Jones has in TVA and in his people is something that can be breached at great price to the future of the people of the Eighth Alabama Congressional District.

On the farm front, the Congressman introduced two bills at the beginning of the session. The first bill would authorize a \$200 million fund through the Farm Credit Administration for disaster relief loans. He estimated that \$35 million would be needed for Alabama's disaster areas. The other Jones Bill would enable the Small Business Administration to make certain emergency loans in disaster areas where farm implement dealers, fueloil suppliers, seed, feed and fertilizer dealers were caught with large unpaid balances on supplies and services upon which credit was given to farmers during the past year.

The Representative charged that the Department of Agriculture failed to meet its responsibilities to the farmer under the Soil Bank law. This comment came after Jones failed to get assurances from the Agriculture Department that county offices would be reopened on a specific date to take additional applications from farmers who wanted to participate in the Soil Bank program. He added, "I intend to use my good offices to see that our Federal Government does not go back on its word." Jones also made the following promise at the start of the session:

This session of Congress is going to be a time when every effort must be made to enact legislation which will serve to rehabilitate the farmer by restoring him to his rightful economic position which he has historically occupied along with the other economic groups of our country.

Jones kept this promise by introducing legislation authorizing and directing Secretary Benson to use an additional \$120 million for the 1958 cotton acreage reserve program. The Huntsville Times commented editorially as follows:

Though the Jones Bill is obviously fair and needed, its chances of passage are slim. Secretary Benson intimated he would oppose it, as planting time is too close.

The upshot is likely to be that there will be no more money for hard-hit Alabama cotton farmers who were cut off from participation in the Soil Bank plan.

The entire Alabama Congressional Delegation joined Jones in the introduction of a bill which would freeze the 1959 and 1960 cotton allotments at the 1956 level and thus avoid any further acreage reductions by Secretary Benson.

The House Appropriations Committee later approved additional funds to allow more cotton farmers to participate in the Soil Bank program. This amounted to quite a victory and the Alabama Congressional Delegation was largely responsible for this favorable appropriation.

A compromise "freeze" similar to that introduced by Rep. Jones was passed by Congress. However, the President vetoed the legislation. Jones, nonetheless, promised to attempt to get some legislative relief in spite of the President's veto. This persistent effort proved successful when, late in the session, farm area legislators were able to win passage of another farm bill which avoided the drastic reductions contemplated by Secretary Benson and the Administration.

This session saw the passage of a \$1.5 billion omnibus rivers and harbors and flood control bill which contained 135 projects for the nation. Included was an amendment written by the Congressman which would obligate the Federal Government to anticipate national water needs and plan ahead to conserve national water resources. This amendment was historic because it was the first major change in Federal policies affecting rivers, harbors, and water resources. Previously, the Government was obligated to prevent floods, improve rivers and harbors and navigation and develop hydro-electric power. The Jones amendment also would extend the laws to permit the Federal Government to build reservoirs to control the downstream flow of water. It also provided for studies to be made of future water needs of communities and industries and for various public works, if needed, to conserve the water assets of the nation. Jones commented on the passage of the amendment as follows:

Up to recent times we have taken our plentiful supply of water in this country for granted. Now there is a drastic shortage of water in many areas and it is affecting every segment of our national life adversely. If we are to expand and prosper, it is crucial that we pay more attention to conserving and developing the water we now have.

President Eisenhower vetoed the bill. Regarding conservation of the nation's natural resources, the Eisenhower veto was the most backward step taken by any President since the James K. Polk Administration.

Inaccordance with his keen concern for resource development, the Representative introduced a resolution asking the consent and approval of Congress for the establishment of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Compact which would link those two rivers and provide a tremendous new asset in the nation's navigation facilities. The measure was introduced at the request of the Legislatures and Governors of Alabama and Mississippi. Jones, with the other members of the Alabama Delegation, successfully steered this measure through Congress and secured Presidential approval. The Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Compact was signed on August 15, 1958. As mentioned, the principal purpose of the Compact was to promote the development of a navigable waterway connecting the Tennessee and Tombigbee Rivers by way of the last fork of the Tombigbee River.

Some of the Congressman's other activities can only be discussed briefly, but many of them were quite important. He fought several attempts by the Eisenhower Administration to curtail the activities of the REA. The Administration sought to effectively do away with this agency in spite of the fact that REA's loan record on repayment to the Government was 99.98 per cent over a twenty-two year period.

Jones was active in the attempt to locate the \$10 million Advanced Research Projects Agency at Huntsville.

To relieve the unemployment situation which was acute at this time, Jones suggested an early start on the backlog of Public Works buildings and projects which were scheduled for the near future. From his position on the subcommittee on Roads, the Congressman blocked attempts on the part of three Government agencies to raid the Federal Highway Trust Fund. The American Road Builders Magazine singled out the Congressman for special praise for keeping the cost of the highway program to a minimum by blocking these attempts. In recognition of his knowledge and wide experience in this field, the Representative was appointed chairman of a special committee to represent the United States at an International Roads Conference in Mexico City.

Rep. Jones successfully sponsored a measure which erected at Cape Canaveral a plaque to Huntsville Arsenal personnel in appreciation of their efforts in the successful launching of Explorer I - the first American satellite.

He supported an extension and improvement of the recreational facilities at Bankhead National Forest and gave a helping hand to the improvement of Russell Cave and supported the suggestion that this historic cave be made a part of the National Park system.

Jones also fought for an increase in basic research on salt water conversion and suggested a seashore laboratory to further the realization of this process which would mean so much to humanity. The Representative also played a major role in efforts to erect a National Cultural Center for the performing arts in Washington. Finally, he served as a trustee of the Smithsonian Institution and as a member of the National Monument Commission.

January 7, 1959, marked the beginning of the first session of the 86th Congress. One of the Congressman's first controversies involved an Arkansas election in which segregationist Dale Alford defeated former Rep. Brooks Hays, a moderate, on a write-in device. Jones was a member of a Congressional investigating committee designed to look into apparent irregularities in this election. In an unprecedented move, the investigating committee voted to deny Rep. Alford his new seat until the investigation was finished. Congressman Jones opposed this action and brought the matter up on the House Floor. The House voted almost unanimously to support Jones' recommendation that Alford be granted his seat immediately. The House also voted to continue the investigation.

At the start of the session, Rep. Jones and Rep. Davis (D. Tenn.) again introduced a self-financing plan identical to the bill which they introduced during the previous session. They, along with other enlightened Congressmen, resolved to fight this matter to the bitter end. Regarding the free-for-all battle that was approaching, Jones remarked, "The fight isn't easy, but it is a good one and I'm in it to the finish." Jones' House Public Works Committee had jurisdiction over the bill and after a heated debate in which the Congressman championed the measure, the committee approved the bill and sent it to the House with a favorable recommendation. However, the victory was only partial since the committee also approved an amendment which would have the effect of limiting TVA's service area. Rep. Jones labeled this amendment as "a victory for the private power companies."

The Florence Times commented editorially as follows:

The Alabama Power Company and their private utilities associates are telling Congress that the true purpose of the Davis-Jones Bill is to permit unlimited expan-

sion of its facilities. This is false and the high-powered lawyers of the private utilities know it, for the TVA Act is plain enough. Under that Act, the TVA could be servicing an area of 300,000 square miles, but its area now is only about 80,000 square miles. The real purpose of the Davis-Jones Bill is to forestall a power shortage in the Tennessee Valley by 1962, which would have a depressing effect on the local economy. The Davis-Jones Bill is not only a safeguard for TVA but is a battle against the rearguard attacks by selfish interests, seeking profits alone and unconcerned about Alabama's future. The legislation needs and richly deserves all the support it can get from the grass roots. The future of Alabama's prosperity is at stake.

After the favorable committee report, the measure went to the Rules Committee which finally voted 5-4 to let the bill proceed to the House Floor for consideration. Congressman Jones appeared before the Rules Committee to testify in behalf of the bill and Charles Bartlett of the Chattanooga Times Bureau reported this session as follows:

The TVA group was represented by Rep. Robert Jones, who answered the questions of the critics in a low, calm voice and was congratulated by several of the Republicans for the directness of his replies.

After four hours of heated debate in which the TVA supporters successfully defeated several proposed crippling amendments, the House proceeded to vote. The result was a significant victory for the agency since the House approved the Davis-Jones Bill by a vote of 245-170. The self-financing bill then went to the Senate and Senators Hill (one of the authors of the original TVA Act) and Sparkman led the fight. After another bitter fight, the Senate passed a similar self-financing measure which was acceptable to the House and to Jones and Davis. The President threatened to veto the bill, however, unless certain provisions were changed but after much maneuvering and compromising, the President finally signed the bill into law and the long four-year battle over TVA self-financing was finally ended. Although the bill wasn't exactly what the TVA supporters desired, its passage was nonetheless an overwhelming victory that resulted in a measure the people of the Valley could "live with." All of which proved again the wisdom of Lincoln's aphorism that, "It is true that you may fool all of the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all of the time; but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time."

Congressman Jones remarked as follows on the bill's passage:

The struggle to keep TVA the efficient servant of the people was one of the most strenuous I have experienced since I came to Congress. Every minute of the battle was eminently worthwhile and I would repeat what I had to do, if that was necessary. I had substantial and valued support from scores of organizations and thousands of individuals and for this help I shall always be grateful.

With the passage of this bill, the TVA chapter of the Jones' record was largely closed since the agency was now free to carry on its great work in the quiet and efficient manner that had characterized its operation before the Republican assault began in 1953.

The battle for the hard-pressed farmers, however, was far from solved and the Congressman continued to champion their cause against a misguided Administration.

The Representative introduced a bill to permit farmers to release any or all of their cotton acreage allotments for 1959 and 1960. He explained that the measure was designed to prevent a reduction in the state's total cotton acreage allotment. The 1956 relief Act was due to expire at the end of the then present cotton crop. He remarked that this legislation, if passed, would give Alabama cotton farmers the best kind of break since it would prevent loss of acreage in cotton, even if some individual farmer neglected to plant his full quota. The bill also contained provisions which would make the preservation of acreage allotment history permanent. Under this plan, the acreage history for a cotton farm or any other basic commodity would be preserved for the current year.

This measure also stirred up considerable controversy and Jones pushed hard for the passage of his program. The House and Senate both gave it a favorable vote and President Eisenhower signed the measure. Jones described the significance of the new law in the following terms, "Under this new system, we can be confident that we will remain in the front as a cotton producing state."

The Congressman introduced a bill known as the Public Buildings Act of 1959 which was designed to launch a badly needed public buildings program across the nation. The bill was also designed to give Congress better control over construction and permit closer inspection of funds appropriated and closer inspection of how the money was spent. The House Public Works Committee approved the bill unanimously. The measure was so unquestionably necessary and well-drafted that it passed the Senate and the House unanimously and received the approval of the Administration. Franklin Floete, Administrator of the General Services Administration, had the following to say regarding Jones' bill:

Congressman Jones of Alabama has made a notable contribution to the governmental framework. The legislation attests to the conscientious approach to public works by Mr. Jones . . . It is landmark legislation.

During this session the proposed Natchez Trace Highway was approved by the National Parks Service and the highway was scheduled to be completed by 1966. The Congressman had battled for this project before Congressional committees every year since coming to Congress.

The Congressman was appointed to a special committee to investigate alleged irregularities in the Nevada road construction program. It was explained that Jones was selected for the probe because he was a member of the Roads subcommittee of both the Government Operations and the Public Works Committees, and was a long time student of highway affairs.

The Representative accepted an invitation to become a trustee of the Thomas L. Stokes Award Committee, Inc., a national group of prominent citizens concerned with preservation and development of natural resources.

Congressman Jones was guest speaker when the first small watershed project was dedicated in Scottsboro. This project included a coordinated land treatment and channel improvement program for the 11,800-acre Clear Creek watershed. He pointed out that every year four billion tons of soil are lost from farmlands in the United States by uncontrolled water. This irreplaceable loss represents a dollar loss in billions to farmers in land and in decreased farm production. This incredible loss also explains the keen concern regarding conservation and water resource development which has characterized Rep. Jones during his stay in Congress.

The Farmers Home Administration reported on Jones' Rural Housing Act of 1949 and the figures are well worth repeating. Since 1949, over 34,000 loans have been made to rural people in the U.S., and the loans amount to \$202,609,772. Alabamians took out loans totaling \$12,000,000. The national rate of repayments is 104 per cent and Alabamians have a repayment rate of 108 per cent. This is what is known as successful legislation.

The Board of Directors of the proposed Wesley Foundation at Florence State College elected Bob Jones as a member at this time. He was one of 14 to receive this honor.

At a special dinner in his honor, the Colbert Farm Bureau made the Congressman a lifetime member and expressed appreciation for his great concern with the problems of the farmers of the state and the nation.

This was a very successful Congress in the eyes of the people of the Eighth District since the TVA was now safe from the designs of the Power Trust and much had been accomplished to improve the lot of our farmers. The Florence Times commented on Jones' performance in the following words:

The maturity of his service in the House has enhanced Bob Jones' value to the people of the Eighth District. His increasing achievements as the years go along demonstrate the wisdom of the voters of the Eighth Alabama District in never having defeated an incumbent congressman - they have either voluntarily resigned or died in office. There is no substitute for experience on Capitol Hill.

The Congressman participated in the annual meeting of the Elk River Development Association. This Association was designed to promote navigation facilities on the Elk River and to encourage industrial development of the river area in Coffee, Moore, Franklin, Grundy, Lincoln, Giles and Lawrence counties in Tennessee and Limestone and Lauderdale counties in Alabama. The Association asked TVA to make a study of physical resources in the Elk River Valley and to push reforestation of the nine county area. A goal of planting 1,000,000 acres with seedlings was set for 1960. Organization of the Tennessee River Development Association was accomplished at this meeting. Rep. Jones is a strong booster of these organizations.

The Congressman also participated in the General Medaris Day festivities in Huntsville. Rep. Jones, of course, has long been an ardent supporter of the Redstone Arsenal at Huntsville since it contributes so much to the economic welfare of the Eighth District and to the strength of the nation in defense.

The second session of the 86th Congress convened on January 6, 1960. The investigation of the Federal highway program got underway during this session. Jones was a member of the Congressional committee charged with this responsibility and the committee's work required a large part of his time. The roads program, incidentally, is the biggest peacetime public works program in the history of the country.

Congressman Jones vigorously attacked the civil rights legislation which was proposed during the session. In a dramatic speech on the House Floor, he pointed out basic imperfections in each section of the measure and concluded as follows:

I sincerely hope this bill will be defeated. I urge the House to reject it as ill-conceived and dangerous. It has basic imperfections, unconstitutional provisions and is an intemperate and divisive measure. It certainly will harm and tear down more than it could possibly help and build up.

The Representative charged that current farm legislation could mean acute distress or even ruin for cotton farmers during the next crop year. This warning was issued when Jones introduced legislation of his own which sought stabilization of the cotton price support for the 1961 crop. Jones said his bill was emergency legislation and would fix a floor of 75 percent of parity for the 1961 crop and thereby postpone a change in the cotton price support base until 1962. The Congressman thereby would postpone the scheduled cutbacks until after the Presidential election in which event it was hoped that someone more sympathetic to the plight of the farmers would be President. The Jones bill would strip Secretary of Agriculture Benson of authority to reduce parity and allotments for cotton for the 1961 crop. Senators Hill and Sparkman supported Jones by introducing a companion measure in the Senate.

Jones joined with Senators Hill and Sparkman and several other Alabama Congressmen in urging Alabama Democrats to vote for the loyalist candidates during the election of Presidential electors in the May 3rd party primary. He commented as follows:

Let's not be misled by false prophets. There is a tiny band of wilful men who say, "Give me your vote as free independent American citizens. Nominate me as your independent elector. Hand your vote to me and let me decide what candidate for the presidency will be best for you." Don't be fooled into surrendering your precious vote to anyone to use as he wishes. Vote for the Loyal Electors who are loyal to the Democratic Party. You can be sure that in being LOYAL to the Democratic Party you will be serving the best interests of your community, your state and the Southland.

The Huntsville Times reported the argument of the Loyalists as follows:

The loyalists also argue that a "bolt" from the party runs serious risk of endangering the South's influential role in Congress, where Southern Democratic senators and representatives hold key positions on many Congressional committees by virtue of seniority. A bolt that could cost the Democrats the election might so anger Democrats from the other parts of the country that the Southerners would be ousted.

The Anniston Star commented as follows and the Decatur Daily reprinted the same remarks:

Hill and Sparkman, our two excellent Senators who have never yet scratched a Democratic ticket, have been fighting day and night in the Senate in an effort to undo some of the injustices that have been heaped upon the South during the Eisenhower Administration, and they are being backed in the lower house.

It is a well-known fact, though, that but for the Loyalists we have in Congress, and who have been kept there long enough for them to get committee chairmanships or seniority, the GOP politicians would turn the South into a mere colony of the North, as we were for so many years after the Civil War.

... But if we will but remain loyal to the Democratic Party, we can elect a President who will not penalize us. And with good honest men in the White House, prosperity will be our lot again.

And the Florence Times had the following to say in support of Jones' Loyalist position:

The Republican Party was hardly born in the 1860's when it sent a horde of greedy carpetbaggers to swarm over the Southland and eat of its substance, even when the South was fighting for its life.

Some of the Southern states deserted the Democratic fold in 1928 to help elect Herbert Hoover. Was there gratitude for this?

Instead of gratitude, the South got no recognition in the Hoover Administration in the way of high government officials. Instead of thanks for its electoral votes, the South got cold neglect, adverse freight rates and financial policies which tried to keep it forever chained to financial interests far away to the North and East.

Some Southerners deserted the Democratic Party again in 1948. But a Democratic President was elected without these Southern electoral votes. But what a contrast there was between 1928 and 1948. What dif-

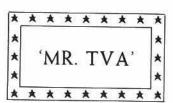
ference there was between the victorious Republican President and the victorious Democratic President in their dealings with us.

In the Truman Cabinet were General George C. Marshall of Virginia, as Secretary of State, John R. Steelman, a native of Arkansas and an ex-teacher from Montevallo, Alabama, was assistant to the President, Tom Clark of Texas was U.S. Attorney General, Julius Krug of Tennessee was Secretary of the Interior. There was no spirit of vengeance exercised by that Democratic President towards the South.

The Florence Times also made this salient point in another editorial:

When the so-called Powell Amendment to the Federal aid school construction bill was voted on in the House of Representatives at Washington - an amendment that would have required across-the-board integration of the public schools - House Republicans voted FOR the Powell Amendment 118 to 21 and House Democrats AGAINST the Powell Amendment 160-100.

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation offices released some interesting figures on the manner in which Jones' cotton bill of the previous session was working. It should be recalled that this bill allowed a redistribution of allotted acres from counties which did not plan to plant the full quota to counties which not only planned to plant the full quota but also needed and desired more. According to the ASC, the need was greatest in the counties of the Eighth Congressional District. About 26,502 acres were surrendered to the Alabama State ASC Committee by counties where this acreage was not needed and these acres were distributed to the cotton-producing counties in the state. An expert estimate predicted an increase of \$1,980,000 in gross farm income in Colbert, Lauderdale, and Lawrence counties alone as a result of these surrendered allotments. This estimate also predicted the addition of about \$23 million to gross farm income over the state. In other words, by introducing intelligent legislation in the 1959 session, Rep. Jones had provided for an increase of \$23 million in Alabama farm income. A lot of Congressmen talk about the plight of the farmer but Jones really does something about it. Some of the deep satisfaction and sense of achievement that an alert Congressman feels when he has served his people well can be readily understood when that \$23 million is broken down into such human factors as better food, clothing, housing, medical care, and education for the farmers of the state.



During the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations, the Tennessee Valley Authority went about its great work in a quiet and efficient manner and conferred considerable benefit upon the area it was intended to improve and develop. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say the stimulus supplied by the TVA was responsible for a steady rise in Valley income towards the national average.

This rise is indicated by the fact that in 1933 (the year the TVA Act was passed) the seven Tennessee Valley States paid 3.4 percent of all individual income-tax revenues received by the Treasury. By 1953, the individual income taxpayers in those states paid 6.1 percent of the national total. The consequential increase in revenue brought on by the TVA resulted in increased Federal revenue amounting to \$8 billion - many, many times the federal investment in TVA. However, this figure alone does not fully reflect the benefits that TVA conferred. The somewhat depressed seven state area that it served was re-vitalized and made green and bountiful again through flood control, reforestation, fertilizer, education programs, and the general conservation activities that the agency conducted. Malaria, which previously affected half the people of this region, was virtually eliminated and several million Americans were spared untimely death or a lifetime of unproductive illness.

Thus it was that through the "miracle" of the TVA and 20 years of enlightened Democratic Administration, a rather sleepy and sickly region shed its shackles and pushed itself and the nation forward. But there are always those who fit the description of "none so blind as those who will not see."

During the 1952 Presidential campaign, Republican candidate Dwight Eisenhower promised publically that TVA would be maintained at "maximum efficiency." In spite of that promise, in 1953 President Eisenhower described TVA as "creeping socialism" and a desperate attempt to destroy the agency ensued.

The private power lobby in Washington began a whispering campaign imputing socialism to the Tennessee Valley Authority in the lowest McCarthy style. The private utilities pooled their resources for a collective advertising program called the Electric Companies Advertising Program and expended something like \$100 million in a national campaign of fraud directed at TVA in particular and public power in general. Allied with the Administration and many Republican members of Congress these groups consistently attempted to pass punitive and crippling legislation aimed at the destruction of the TVA. Sufficient appropriations to avoid impending power shortages in the Valley became increasingly difficult to secure and general appropriations for the agency were reduced drastically, necessitating serious cutbacks in the great conservation activities of the agency. A deliberate attempt to strangle the TVA was quite apparent.

Of all of TVA's friends in the House of Representatives, Congressman Robert E. Jones stood out as the most outspoken defender of the TVA against this Republican assault, and was the most vigorous leader in the fight to push the agency and the region forward in spite of the hostile attitude of the opposition party in both the White House and the Congress. Precisely because of Jones' leviathan efforts it would be impossible to list all of his activities on behalf of TVA: the bills and amendments he introduced, the speeches he made,

the facts he marshalled, the misconceptions he dispelled, the special interests he exposed or all the specious arguments he refuted. Suffice it to repeat the words of senior Senator Lister Hill: "In Washington, we call Bob Jones 'Mr. TVA'."

One of the Congressman's outstanding achievements in support of TVA's model of Federal multi-purpose development of an entire river basin came in response to a report of a task force of the Hoover Commission. The task force report attacked the theory of multi-purpose development and recommended a return to the antiquated and wasteful single-purpose scheme. It recommended that TVA be abandoned to private interests and attempted to discredit public power in general.

In recognition of Jones' knowledge and experience in these matters, he was appointed chairman of a special subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee whose duty was to report on these Hoover recommendations. The result of this committee's widespread hearings and extensive research was a report of over two hundred pages which discredited the single-purpose development scheme and underlined the obvious advantages of the multi-purpose development program. The Jones report also emphasized the historic, constitutional role, and primary responsibility, of the Federal government in the development of the Nation's rivers and harbors. This report still stands as the most authoritative work on responsible Federal policies in this field and established Jones' reputation as the pre-eminent Congressional authority on water resources and hydroelectric power development.

The fight for TVA extended over a period of many years and provided the setting for the sordid Dixon-Yates deal which exploded in the Administration's face and inspired some re-thinking on the part of some members of Congress. Congressman Jones played a considerable role in this exposé and commented upon the sell-out of the public interest as follows:

The Atomic Energy Commission is being used as a reluctant power broker by the President to prove that this Administration looks upon private power operations with a favorable eye. It is a shameful story of greed and venality. It is a story of cunning speculators with a bold plan to obtain a "fast buck" while acting in total disregard of the public interest.

It should be recalled that the contract that was signed between the Administration and Dixon-Yates contained such peculiar provisions as a guaranteed return of 9 percent after all taxes, including income tax, were paid and involved some unjustified special tax privileges. Twenty year "guaranteed profits" contracts are strange actions indeed by those who purport to champion the true principles of competitive private enterprise.

However, in spite of these and other efforts by the friends of TVA, it was apparent that unless some method of securing sufficient funds could be devised the Administration might well succeed in bleeding TVA to death. Congressman Jones and Congressman Clifford Davis (D. Tenn.) came up with the solution: self-financing. Jointly, they introduced a bill which would enable TVA to finance itself through the issuance of revenue bonds instead of relying on appropriations. Under this plan, the TVA budget would still be subject to review and scrutiny by the Congress and would still be under Federal control.

At the same time it would have the degree of flexibility necessary to meet the responsibilities for maintaining a sufficient power supply in the Valley. The investment of the taxpayers in the TVA power plant would be fully protected by a provision requiring payment into the national Treasury of an annual return equal to the government's cost of money.

The Republicans had long contended, speciously, that TVA represented an unwarranted "subsidy" to a particular region by the Federal government. Yet this self-financing measure, which would end appropriations, was successfully blocked by the Republicans when it was introduced in the 84th and 85th Congresses. Nonetheless, "Mr. TVA" refused to abandon the fight and promised an all-out push in the 86th Congress, a Congress controlled by a heavy Democratic majority.

The Jones-Davis bill was re-introduced in the first session of the 86th Congress and after exhausting efforts by Rep. Jones and others it passed both Houses of Congress and received the reluctant signature of President Eisenhower in 1959.

The battle for TVA was won and the agency was again free to operate at that "maximum efficiency" which the Republican Administration had sought so persistently to impair. Jones remarked as follows, "the struggle to keep TVA the efficient servant of the people was one of the most strenuous I have experienced since I came to Congress. Every minute of the battle was eminently worthwhile and I would repeat what I did, if that was necessary. I had substantial and valued support from scores of organizations and thousands of individuals and for this help I shall always be grateful."

The gratitude, however, was not one-sided and one Eighth Congressional District newspaper remarked editorially, "The faith that Bob Jones has in TVA and in his people is something that can be breached only at great price to the future of the people of the Eighth Congressional District."



The American farm situation is admittedly in an extremely complex and delicate situation and no political party is altogether responsible for either the failures or successes of the present farm policy. The situation is difficult and likely to remain that way for some time regardless of which political party is at the helm. However, it is the opinion of Congressman Jones that this admittedly unfortunate situation has been made a good deal more unfortunate by the uninspired and sometimes disastrous policies of the Republican Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Benson. And probably the farmers who suffered most under the Eisenhower Administration were the cotton farmers, especially those in Alabama.

One of the most encouraging features of democracy is that sooner or later every good cause will attract a champion and Congressman Jones, probably more than any other Member of Congress, has filled this role in relation to the hard-pressed cotton farmers of the nation.

The cotton situation had been rather dark for quite a few years but it became really acute in the 83rd Congress when Secretary Benson instituted a drastic cotton allotment program which in twelve Alabama counties would not give each farmer five acres of cotton, regardless of how much he might have planted in the past. Rep. Jones was incensed at this drastic proposal since he knew what it would mean in terms of economic loss to cotton farmers in these Alabama counties and, in some cases, what it would mean in terms of human suffering. Consequently, the Congressman introduced an amendment regarding the cotton marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 which provided for an increase in cotton acreage and with Senators Hill and Sparkman he fought arduously for an increased cotton acreage allotment. However, these efforts were largely ignored by the Administration and hard times became even worse for the nation's cotton farmers.

In the 84th Congress, the Representative introduced a bill which carried a stipulation making it mandatory for the county committee to provide a minimum of five acres in cotton allotments for small operators. He also introduced a measure which would restore 1955 cotton acreage allotments to Alabama and all other states given reduced allotments for 1956 by the Department of Agriculture. Although the 1955 allotments left much to be desired, this "freeze" at the 1955 levels would avoid the even more drastic cuts planned for 1956. The Alabama Cotton Hardship Committee journeyed to Washington to give testimony regarding the great need of relief legislation and urged passage of the Jones bill. Jones and the Hardship Committee were particularly incensed over the fact that while the 1956 cotton allotments were reduced in southern states some western states received increases.

Largely as a result of these efforts, Congress did pass an omnibus farm bill which froze cotton allotments at the 1956 level rather than the 1955 level. There were also several other provisions which would have provided some relief for Alabama farmers. However, the President vetoed the bill. Rep. Jones immediately joined in the introduction of another relief measure but there was small hope of it passing - the attitude of the Administration was quite clear. In spite of this, a compromise measure was worked out and this measure did freeze the allotment quotas at the 1956 levels.

The battle continued in the first session of the 85th Congress and Jones authored a new cotton bill which, if passed, would provide \$8 million to Alabama cotton farmers in compensation (in the form of Soil Bank payments) for

the cotton acreage they had lost to other states since 1950. Ten Members of the House joined in the presentation of this proposal. The bill also provided for metes and bounds measurements which would provide more accurate surveys and eliminate many injustices, and carried another important provision which stipulated that the cotton producing states be guaranteed at least 99 per cent of the present acreage through 1958. The Cotton Hardship Committee endorsed this bill 100 per cent.

The inequities in the Republican cotton program can best be illustrated by the following figures listing cotton acreage reductions in the state compared with the nation:

Alabama

1950 1957 1,294,315 acres 1,028,000 acres

Reduction - 266,315 acres

Nation

1950 1957 17,948,000 acres 17,585,000 acres

Reduction - 363,000 acres

In other words, Alabama absorbed 73 per cent of the entire national cut between 1950 and 1957.

Citing another indication of the injustices and failures of the Benson farm program, Congressman Jones reported the following statistics:

On January 20, 1953, when Benson took over the Agriculture Department, the total price support losses that had been accumulated over the previous 20 years (almost entirely Democratic) amounted to \$1,064,017,225. On January 1, 1957, after four years of Benson management of the Agriculture Department, these losses amounted to \$4,005,229,643. Thus, we find that four years of "Bensonism" have cost the taxpayers almost three times as much as 20 years of Democratic Administration of the Department. In addition to this deplorable situation in the farm picture, it should be pointed out that since Benson took over the welfare of our farmers in 1953, farm income has dropped nearly nine billion dollars.

The Cotton Hardship Committee again came to Congress to tell their story in person. Congressman Jones presented them to the appropriate subcommittee and the Hardship Committee testified in support of Jones' new cotton bill.

As this session of the 85th Congress drew to a close, the controversy over national farm policy became rigidly stalemated and both sides gathered their forces for the coming battle in the next session.

Previously, many Alabama cotton farmers who desired to participate in the Soil Bank were unable to do so because of insufficient fund allocations for this purpose. Consequently, in the second session of the 85th Congress, Jones introduced legislation authorizing and directing Secretary Benson to use an additional \$120 million for the 1958 cotton acreage reserve program.

The entire Alabama Congressional Delegation joined Jones in the introduction of another measure which would freeze the 1959 and 1960 cotton allotments at the 1956 level and thus put off further any acreage reduction by Secretary Benson.

The efforts of Rep. Jones and others were finally successful when, later in the session, the House Appropriations Committee approved additional funds to allow more cotton farmers to participate in the Soil Bank program.

The big push for a "freeze" on acreage allotments also achieved some success since Congress passed a compromise "freeze" bill similar to the one introduced by the Congressman. However, the President vetoed the legislation. Nonetheless, Jones persisted in his endeavors and another farm bill was passed which avoided the drastic reductions contemplated by Secretary Benson.

In the 86th Congress, Rep. Jones continued his fight for a better deal for the cotton farmers. He sponsored legislation which sought stabilization of the cotton price support for the year 1961. This measure would put a floor of 75 percent of parity under the 1961 crop and thereby delay the scheduled reductions in the support base for another year. He described this bill as emergency legislation.

Jones also introduced a bill which provided that farmers across the nation who did not plan to plant their cotton quota could release this acreage for redistribution throughout the nation to farmers who wished to plant more than their present quotas. This plan did not call for increased national acreage allotments but rather provided for more effective utilization of present acreage. The measure passed and later the agriculture offices released some interesting figures on the results of this bill. One not so surprising result was that the need was greatest in the counties of the Eighth Congressional District. About 25,502 acres were surrendered to the State of Alabama and these acres were distributed to the cotton-producing counties. An expert estimate predicted that this additional acreage would increase Alabama farm income by \$23 million. An increase of \$1,980,000 in gross income in Colbert, Lauderdale, and Lawrence counties alone was predicted. Most Congressmen talk about the plight of the farmer but Jones really does something about it and some of the deep satisfaction and sense of achievement that an alert Congressman feels when he has served his people well can be readily imagined when that additional \$23 million is broken down into such human factors as better and more plentiful food, clothing, housing, medical care, etc., for the farmers of the state.

Thus it has come about that the relationship of the Congressman with the cotton farmer has been a romance, a romance in the setting of a tragedy.



Due to the varied nature of the legislation which passes through the Government each year, and since no individual Congressman could stay completely informed regarding all of these proposals, Congress long ago seized upon the scheme of Congressional committees made up of Congressmen from both national parties. Each of these committees has a special sphere of interest and examines all proposed legislation which falls within its jurisdiction and, consequently, a great deal can be learned about the special interests of a Congressman by simply determining the committees and subcommittees on which he serves. Congressman Jones is no exception to this general rule and his positions on the Public Works Committee and the Government Operations Committee emphasize his interest in conservation since these committees are keenly concerned with the nation's natural resources. Jones' positions on these committees indicate that his interest is certainly not passive and during his fifteen years in Congress he has labored extensively in this field.

As a result of his long years of service, a complete summary is out of the question since it would fill volumes. However, a brief survey of some of the highlights will throw considerable light on the Jones record on conservation.

In his first term in the House, the 80th Congress, Rep. Jones introduced a bill calling for an \$18,000,000 extension in the operation of the Inland Water-ways Corporation. The extension was to consist of improvements in facilities and an extension of operations on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. The proposal, if adopted, would have conferred considerable benefit on his region of the country.

In the 81st Congress, the Representative introduced a measure which called for increased fire control facilities, stepped up production of seedlings for purposes of reforestation, and generally increased forestry activity especially to aid the owners of small forests and wood lots. He also appeared before the Appropriations Committee in support of an allocation which would finance a national forest survey.

At the beginning of the 82nd Congress, Rep. Jones became chairman of a special subcommittee on Water Resources of the Public Works Committee. His experience in this position thoroughly acquainted him with the problems and potentialities of water resource conservation and development throughout the nation. This subcommittee did some of the basic work on the vast St. Lawrence Seaway project and also investigated the various dam-building agencies of the Government (five in all) to ascertain means of providing greater economy and efficiency within these agencies as well as greater interagency harmony and cooperation. The subcommittee's recommendations won wide praise and suggested methods which would save the taxpayers money.

The Congressman also served as chairman of the House subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors and his duties in this position led him on a tour through the Warrior River region in order to make recommendations regarding further development of that river basin.

Once again in this Congress, the Representative fought for more adequate forest fire controls and he also sought authorization for experiments on conversion of coal, lignite and oil shale to useful gases.

The Republicans cut TVA's appropriation at this time and this reduction necessitated some cutbacks in TVA's conservation activities. Jones bitterly opposed this reduction and brought to the attention of the Congress the need for more, not less, conservation.

The 83rd Congress marked the beginning of an all-out assault on TVA by the Eisenhower Administration. One of the pincers in this attack was aimed at the conservation work in the Valley by the TVA. The Republicans planned to destroy these conservation practices by simply refusing to appropriate any funds for such purposes. The Eighth District Congressman was one of the leaders in the successful battle which restored some of the funds.

One of the Congressman's most significant conservation accomplishments occurred during this period. The Chief of Engineers recommended a flood control and drainage project for Paint Rock River but stipulated that local interests contribute 50% of the cost of land enhancement and major drainage. The Public Works Committee had jurisdiction over this proposal and Jones successfully argued that there was no fundamental difference between land enhancement, major drainage, and flood control and consequently the Government could and should pay all the costs. The project was authorized on this basis but the Administration blocked the funds necessary to act on the authorization. The Congressman is still doing everything in his power to help this project become a reality.

During the 84th Congress, the attack on the conservation activities of TVA continued and, again, Jones was in the forefront of a battle which blocked reduction of these activities.

The House passed an irrigation bill which provided \$106 million in loans for the promotion of irrigation projects. An amendment offered by Rep. Jones was adopted which made these funds available to farmers in the drought-stricken South as well as to western reclamation states.

As a result of his wide experience in the field of natural resources, the Congressman was appointed chairman of a special subcommittee on Water Resources and Power of the Government Operations Committee. His new subcommittee held hearings in fifteen different cities and also conducted a comprehensive study of the background of established principles and needs, and the established role and responsibilities of the Federal Government in the fields of conservation, development, and utilization of natural water and power resources. Based on these studies and hearings, Jones' subcommittee made recommendations as to the future policies which should be followed by Congress in this regard. The work of the subcommittee was presented in a report of over two hundred pages and this report is recognized as the most authoritative study on these subjects. It still serves not only as a guide to Congress but also as an authority for all who do serious research in water and power conservation and development. As a result of the report, Jones is now recognized as the pre-eminent Congressional expert on flood control, municipal water supply, and hydroelectric development. The findings of this subcommittee, incidentally, were in direct opposition to the conservation recommendations (or lack of them) by a task force of the Hoover Commission.

The Congressman also helped push through a Public Works Appropriations Bill which provided funds for planning work on the proposed Tennessee-

Tombigbee Waterway Canal - a project strongly backed by Jones. He introduced a resolution asking the consent and approval of Congress for the establishment of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Compact to promote the development of a navigable waterway connecting these two great rivers. This measure became law on August 15, 1958.

Jones' reputation earned him an appointment as chairman of the Natural Resources Committee for the State of Alabama during the 1956 political campaign. Jones was described as "better able to deal with this issue than any other man in Alabama."

In the 85th Congress, the Republicans sought to reduce TVA's appropriation by \$10 million. Again, Jones led the fight which rejected this reduction - a reduction so drastic it would have ended not only conservation but would have crippled the agency as a whole.

During this session, Jones secured \$30,000 in additional funds for further planning of the Paint Rock River Project. He also introduced legislation which would provide Federal aid to help combat the fire ant menace in forty Alabama counties. Some twelve million Alabama acres were damaged by this menace.

At the beginning of the second session of this Congress, Jones stepped up to the chairmanship of the permanent Public Works and Resources subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee. Rep. Jones' seniority was beginning to pay dividends in the form of more powerful positions in the Congressional committees - a practice, incidentally, which continues to give Southern Congressmen unusual power in the Congress.

The Congress passed a 1.5 billion omnibus rivers, harbors and flood control bill which contained 135 vital conservation projects for the country. Included in this bill was an amendment written by the Congressman which obligated the Federal Government to anticipate future national water needs and to plan ahead to conserve resources to meet these needs. This amendment represented a historic change in Federal policy - the first such major change in the history of the country - and reversed a trend of indifference and shortsightedness which could only lead to future national catastrophe. President Eisenhower vetoed the bill.

Finally, Jones fought for an increase in basic research on salt water conversion and suggested a seashore laboratory to further the realization of this process which would mean so much to humanity.

During the 86th Congress, Jones was guest speaker when the first small watershed project was dedicated near Scottsboro. This project, which Jones had strongly supported, included a coordinated land treatment and channel improvement program in the 11,800-acre Clear Creek watershed. The Congressman explained in this speech that one of the reasons for his efforts in behalf of increased conservation was the fact that four billion tons of soil are lost each year from the farmlands in the United States because of uncontrolled water.

Jones also participated in the Elk River Development Association meeting. He strongly supports this Association and the new Tennessee River Development Association.

In recognition of his many accomplishments in the conservation field, Representative Jones was appointed a trustee of the Thomas L. Stokes Award Committee, Inc., a national group of prominent citizens concerned with preservation and conservation of the nation's natural resources.

In conclusion, it would be appropriate to quote from the report of the Jones' subcommittee described previously:

A body of principles for the conservation, development, and utilization of our natural resources has become established in our law...

Some of these widely accepted principles are recalled very briefly here: the unity of resources; the relationship of resources, regions and people, and the use of resources for the good of man; the comprehensive and multiple-use approach to resources development, the applications of husbandry, the insurance of sustained yields from resources; the full return from development coupled with a favorable relation of benefit to cost; the widest distribution of benefits of developments, the greatest good to the greatest number, and the best contributions to the national economy and the national security.