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SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 1959

Editorial Book Review

Brooks Hays: The Man In The Middle

A SOUTHERN MODERATE SPEAKS By Brooks Hays Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 231 pp. \$3.50

THERE is no refuge for the southern moderate save in his own conscience.

If he is in public life he is particularly vulnerable, for he is buffeted with equal fervor from both the left and the right. He may rest for a few moments in the eye of the hurricane, but he knows that he will soon be caught by the tempest swirling perpetually and lose a few more feathers in the process.

No man alive knows the pressures better than Brooks Hays of Arkansas. He had his full share of fevers last November when he was defeated in his reelection to Congress after attempting to effect a peaceful solution to the Little Rock school crisis. An ordinary mortal would have been driven to cover. But Mr. Hays is no ordinary man. From the streets and the rubble of his political career he can survey the future with faith, hope and clarity.

A SOUTHERN MODERATE SPEAKS is both an apostrophe and a plea. Mr. Hays puts an eloquent defense of his own middle way in dealing with the South's racial dilemma and then asks the region and nation to accept it as a logical means to an honorable end.

MR. HAYS is for compromise but against "force." He expresses serious reservations about certain unfortunate aspects of the 1954 Supreme Court ruling on school desegregation but insists that it must be recognized as the law of the land. At the same time, he argues that there is a need for the utmost elasticity in local application.

"This means," he writes, "a heavy reliance on the local sense of justice and fair play to create an environment where brotherhood and harmony between the races can flourish. Attempts to force local decisions on the region that cannot be respected with the help of the people are doomed to failure."

Thus he believes that while the decision of the Supreme Court on desegregation cannot be recalled, it can be interpreted in a way that will meet the nation's law tradition and still meet with acceptance in the South.

IN the struggle toward moral solutions to this enormous social problem, the moderate has an important role. But Mr. Hays assigns the biggest chore of all to the churches.

"In the last analysis," he writes, "it will be the churches and the local community organizations that will provide the solution to the problems of civil rights."

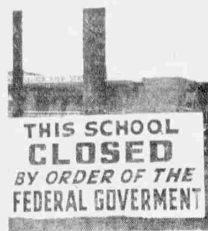
In the South, he notes, the church is literally everywhere. It supplies moral and spiritual guidance in the fields of race relations as it does in other areas of thought and action. It will make its influence even more effective in the future, he believes.

Naturally, Mr. Hays emphasizes the role of the southern Baptists in bettering race relations because of his personal identification with this faith. He has been president of the Southern Baptist Convention since 1957 and, in that capacity, was a recent visitor to Charlotte. But it is not in that capacity that he addresses himself to the South's racial problems. "Don't forget," he told a Little Rock newspaper in 1957, "no Baptist can speak for 80 million Baptists. No Baptist can speak for two Baptists."

BROOKS HAYS asks no sympathy. Although he acknowledges that the southern moderate today is caught between two highly vocal groups that entertain strong feelings, he does not view moderation as a form of martyrdom.

"We who are on the white line down the middle have often felt lonesome and frightened," he says, "but as more people have joined us, we are beginning to feel that it will not be long before almost everyone is moving in the same direction again."

While advancing his cause, he still welcomes argument and discussion from any and all corners. "We have been fac-



Sign At Little Rock High School

ing two great pillars in the South, the pillars of the aspiring Negro and the pillars of the anxious white, and we must move both to be heard in freedom and in safety. While the race card, these two pillars are not a defiling one. It tends to be smothered by a blanket of suspicion on all sides."

Most of A SOUTHERN MODERATE SPEAKS is Mr. Hays' autobiography. There are fascinating glimpses of Mr. Hays' early life and of his vital role in Democratic Party politics. Two institutional loyalties had been broken throughout his life: the Baptist Church and the Democratic Party. He writes: "I had often quoted the good brother who said in opposition to the union of the Baptist and Christian churches: 'I'm a Baptist and nobody is going to make a Christian out of me.' My devotion to the national Democratic Party was almost as firm. I have determined that nothing would make a Democrat out of me, but I wanted the Democratic Party to deserve the sentimental attachment which so many of us in the South continued to hold for it."

MR. HAYS' participation in the civil rights battles in Congress and his efforts with the party's platform writers over civil rights plank are reviewed in detail. He opposed FEPC, forced legislation and authored a moderate compromise which never made the grade. He angered some of his liberal friends later by signing the "Southern Manifesto" as a "minor statement of the South's objection to the extension of the Federal Government's power into the States." His own decision and violation of the above stated principles in constitutional law, although he objected to some of the sentiments and language in the document.

For many the most stimulating revelation of A SOUTHERN MODERATE SPEAKS will be the long chapter entitled, "The Little Rock Story." Here for the first time is a full account by a participant of the tumultuous events leading up to the November election of President Eisenhower and Gov. Faubus. It is a revealing, charitable view of Gov. Faubus' role in the Little Rock crisis. The author is an excellent storyteller. The whole section on the Little Rock crisis is excellent. The new facts he reveals serve to place the tragedy in a much clearer perspective, while not lessening its impact on the national conscience and will.

A SOUTHERN MODERATE SPEAKS is a long, but not a work of literature. It has unity or at least continuity. It is too dependent on old speeches and declarations. The writing often reads like a diary entry. But it does not pretend to be literature. It is an exceedingly earnest man's simple declaration of faith in his region and its people. It is, pleasantly spoken with rather a characteristic simplicity of Mr. Hays' humor. He even quotes a letter from the Rev. Sam Layton, pastor of the author's church, who never to take himself too seriously.

THIS is not the definitive book on moderation in the South. It is merely one man's approach to the challenge of leadership. Nevertheless, it does contain some truths that are too often left unsaid both in the South and in the North. More important, the truths are expressed with a measure of candor and kindness that makes A SOUTHERN MODERATE SPEAKS a truly remarkable human testament. It should be read on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line.

The Dream Of The Islands Comes True

THE Congress, President, flagmakers and citizens at large have generally shown delight in welcoming our 50th state—Hawaii.

We add our echo to the homecoming firecrackers for the Pacific crossroads.

The biggest stumbling block to statehood came from critics of encroaching communism. Anti-Hawaii forces pointed to the 21,000-member International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union as the Reds' breeding ground.

Admittedly, one Harry Bridges, a born troublemaker, and his lieutenant, Jack Hall, have had a heavy hand at the ILWU tiller. There have been charges that Bridges and Hall have been able to run their chips into a political jackpot.

That's what Rep. Francis E. Walter, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities was talking about when he urged statehood to help Hawaii

dispose of those who are stirring and powerful. Rep. Walter who has been known to dig under any communist rock, said: "There is a question but that former, just unions have a very strong hold on the economy of Hawaii."

While the ILWU has a certain influence in Hawaii, the record of its political victories is poor.

For example, the ILWU went all out opposing the Honolulu city charter election. The charter was ratified by about 4 to 1. The results have been alike in other voting.

With this positive stand Hawaii won the field and congressional opinion. Our newest state is proud today with a shiny sparkle bright as the Waikiki sands. We hope they never lose that refreshing island idea of living.

IKE AND BERLIN: TWO VIEWS— U.S. Bankruptcy Figured As Reds' Pressure Point

By MARQUIS CHILDS

WASHINGTON WHAT PRESIDENT Eisenhower made abundantly clear to the congressional leaders was that his view of the Berlin crisis is quite different from that of almost everyone else. He sees it as another effort by the Communists to force the United States to spend itself into bankruptcy.

Pushing on the need for more military spending or at the very least the resending of the girls to the size of the Army and Marine Corps did not mean that Gen. Curtis LeMay would be a President with his mind made up and with no intention of changing it.

Reviewing their discussion with the President, the Democrats believe that in view of the attitude there is little that they can do to prepare for a showdown in Berlin that might require the use of force. The only hope is an executive responsibility and the legislative responsibility lie in the hands of the commander-in-chief.

MIKEY UNPAST The congressional leaders and their committee chairman who found the President's expansion his view more forcefully than that of any other member of Congress, and that perhaps as much as one billion dollars appropriated over and above the White House request of a year ago has been held back.

THE President is under the strong feeling the President is not leading the need to balance the budget. If any additional authorization had been required it was supplied by George M. Humphrey, when the President went to the Georgia state capital to meet the former secretary of the Treasury. As one participant in the White House talks put it, the vote was the voice of Eisenhower, not the words were the words of George Humphrey.

What was the President's position on the Berlin crisis? He said it was not to be absolute and large additional sums put into fixed sites and supplies. He said the budgetary situation was not to be a long-term one. He gave every appearance of

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The Kurfurstendamm, West Berlin's Bright, Busy 5th Ave.

being completely removed by the strong demand to make an effort to close the admitted missile gap—a ratio of three to one for the Soviets in ICBMs within two to three years. And this was the President himself and not his secretary of defense, Neil McElroy. As in his rather sad performance on TV's Meet the Press, McElroy gave the impression of one who might have had other ideas if the line had not been so narrowly drawn by his superior.

The President repeated what he has said several times recently—that if it was a question of economy he would rather see it in his military budget than in foreign aid. This position that the Soviets in ICBMs within two to three years, and this was the President himself and not his secretary of defense, Neil McElroy.

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put to the President the question about forecasting reductions in the ground forces. He got a firm no, but he believes it is possible to fix the size of the Army and the Marine Corps in law at their present levels so that their favorite will have no options.

After in the past under our executive and the legislature have been at odds, but never before perhaps on an issue so critical to a movement vital for the nation's future.

There was just one exchange that may in the end see the President reversed. Rep. Carl Albert, the venerable chairman of the House Armed Services Committee,

that he did not believe it would happen but if it did it would be time to decide what the Allies would expect to do.

This statement less of his hearers could credit. Congress, in its doubtful mood about the wisdom of reducing the armed forces at this time, fretful at the decision not to close the missile gap between the United States and the Soviet Union, will not count it.

Press conferences and public relations of President Eisenhower are apt to give impressive impressions. It will certainly be true that when the Allies reach any truly critical points in the forthcoming conferences with the Soviet Union over the future of Berlin and Germany, they will know very well what they are capable of. None and do in any of the possible contingencies.

But even if the crisis fades, as it does at the moment no sign of doing, the problem will remain. And both Congress and the courts will expect to be ready with guns cocked and loaded if the real thing comes.

Confusion Keynote in Answering Questions For Press

By DORIS FLEESON

WASHINGTON PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S comments on military policy at his press conference were a model of confusion. It was over-riding to observe the fact that the President's performance was a little strange. It left reporters dumb.

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People's Platform Fewer Primaries Produce Fewer Candidates

By DORIS FLEESON

WASHINGTON THE PEOPLE'S PLATFORM has a few more candidates than it has primaries. It is a situation that is not likely to change.

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