

Here's why so many people use

ONLY GLEEM...the toothpaste for people who can't brush after every meal

JUST ONE BRUSHING destroys decay- and odor-causing bacteria.



MOUTH BACTERIA BEFORE BRUSHING— THESE ARE THE CHIEF CAUSE OF DECAY.



AFTER ONE GLEEM BRUSHING, UP TO 95% OF BACTERIA ARE DESTROYED.

PROOF

If you could brush after every meal, any good toothpaste would do... but if you can't always brush, even though it's best, then you should use Gleem. One Gleem brushing destroys most bacteria—gives added resistance to decay.

Mouth odor stopped all day with one Gleem brushing. Scientific tests prove just brushing with Gleem before breakfast gives most people all-day protection against mouth odor.

Kids love Gleem's taste—proved by flavor tests. So it's easy to get them to use Procter & Gamble's Gleem regularly. And regular after-meal brushing is a *praise* way for children to reduce tooth decay.



I can't brush after every meal, so I DEPEND ON GLEEM!



ONLY GLEEM has GL-70 to fight decay!



The South vs. the Supreme Court

Nearly two years ago, nine men unanimously ruled that segregation in our public schools violated the Constitution. Their decision has caused soul-searching, unrest and even violence in an area that includes seventeen states of the Union. What lies behind this turmoil? What will it lead to? Here, in words and pictures, is a many-sided report prepared under the direction of William Attwood, LOOK's National Affairs Editor. Turn the page for a story of fear and hope, of passion and progress.

Mississippi legislators defend segregation with impassioned zeal.



© Ronch Orlan

The decision

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore we hold that the plaintiffs . . . are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws. . . ." (Chief Justice Earl Warren [above], Supreme Court decision, May 17, 1954.) "Full implementation of these Constitutional principles may require solution of varied local problems. . . . While giving weight to these . . . considerations, the courts will require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance. . ." (Opinion of May 31, 1955.)

The defiance

"On May 17, the Constitution of the United States was destroyed because the Supreme Court disregarded the law and decided integration was right. . . . You are not required to obey any court which passes out such a ruling. In fact, you are obligated to defy it." (Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi [above], speech at Senatobia, Miss., August 12, 1955.) "The country has entered an era of judicial tyranny. . . . The Court has responded to a radical, pro-Communist political movement. . . . Public opinion is the law, for no law is of any force which does not have the force of public opinion behind it." (Eastland's speech at Columbia, S. C., January 26, 1956.)

The pattern of defiance

By **FRED RODELL**
PROFESSOR OF LAW, YALE UNIVERSITY

Legal tricks to circumvent the law will fail and the South will eventually have to abide by the Supreme Court's ruling

A crisis faces the nation today that is a crisis of law and of people who live under law, as civilized people have to live. The law, as the U. S. Supreme Court has twice laid it down, is clear. Just as clear is defiance of the law by the millions of Southern citizens for whom Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi (see opposite page) speaks. The crisis is created by their defiance.

They may call it nullification or interposition or good old-fashioned states' rights. They may go about it with the courtliness of Virginia's proposed constitutional amendment or with the harder-handed, bread-and-butter pressure practiced in the deeper South ("Following are the names and addresses of those who have signed petitions for admission of their children to white public schools:—").

They may try to legalize it as simply as do Mississippi's and Georgia's stand-by preparations to abolish their whole state school systems; or as complicatedly as does Alabama's new law that openly invites local school boards to assign pupils to segregated schools on any of 15 listed excuses ranging from "the psychological qualifications of the pupil" to "the possibility or threat of friction or disorder among pupils or others."

The plain fact is that defiant millions of Southern citizens are out to disobey the law of the land without, if possible, breaking the law. They are a cold majority of the adult white citizens of several Southern states.

The law of the land, since a unanimous Supreme Court said so on May 17, 1954, is that segregation of Negro children in separate public schools denies to these children "equal protection of the laws" and so violates the U. S. Constitution. Before that date, 17 Southern states forbade by law the mixing together of white and Negro children in any public school. Since that date, many of those states have made a start toward fitting their school systems to the Supreme Court's flat command. But Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina are fixing officially to disobey. Some other states may follow suit.

How can they do it? How can they hope to counter Article VI, Clause 2, of the U. S. Constitution, which says: "This Constitution and the laws of the United States . . . shall be the supreme law of the land . . . anything in the

Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding?"

They can because there is not—nor is there likely to be in the future—any Federal statute (like the old Volstead Act to enforce prohibition) that puts a criminal penalty on disobedience of the Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling; because, despite the broad and all-inclusive language of that ruling, the court's decision technically only applied to the particular Negro children whose rights were at issue in the particular cases before the court; and because, again technically, the ruling only forbade segregation based on race or color—not on "availability of transportation" or "scholastic aptitude" or any of the other cover-up phrases the South has started to use to keep segregation alive in fact.

Without a criminal statute, desegregation has no teeth—save only that a state official can be jailed or fined for contempt of court if he disobeys an order specifically and personally directed against him. Without more and more Supreme Court decisions, the South can go on using all manner of devices that get around the letter of the original ruling, until each in its slow turn is forbidden. And it is primarily on these two facts that the defiant sections of the South are relying to delay or perhaps defeat desegregation.

"Nonracial" Excuses Are Planned

Once before in its history, the South successfully set up device after device to get around the letter of Federal law. Then, the South was out to keep Negroes from voting—a right plainly granted them back in 1870 by the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. From the "grandfather clauses" and rigged literacy tests of the early days—with never a mention of color or race—right up to the Negro-excluding "club rules" of political parties turned into "private associations" to insure all-white primary elections, the South kept the Supreme Court busy and the Negro ballotless for almost three quarters of a century. It was not until the private-club dodge was ruled against in 1944 that Negroes could vote in most of the South.

So today, several Southern states plan to keep the Supreme Court busy for years with variations on the "nonracial" excuses for continued segregation. So too, the widely popular plan to turn public schools into "private" schools, indirectly supported by state funds—a plan strangely similar to making private clubs of political parties—will need at least one new Supreme Court decision to knock it down.

But the most effective delaying tactic of all will likely be the shifting of responsibility

from the state itself to local school boards so that each board, on whatever pretext, can practice segregation on its own. This is why the near-toothlessness of the Supreme Court's ruling could breed a generation of law suits. For there are some 10,000 school boards in the defiant states, and it would take a separate suit against each to wipe out segregated schools.

Moreover, it is precisely on the local level that the bread-and-butter pressures—the open or implied threats of no job or no credit or even no buying at this grocery store—are already being used to keep Negroes from going to court, or from letting the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People go to court for them, in defense of their children's rights to an unsegregated education. Typed form letters keep coming into the NAACP's legal offices, letters that begin "I, J—J—, hereby respectfully request that my name be withdrawn, etc.," letters that are sometimes signed with an X. And neither the NAACP nor the Department of Justice—nor even the Federal district judges, charged by the Supreme Court with the job of carrying out desegregation—can take any action without a willing complainant.

Yet two test enforcement cases, each boasting about 30 Negro names, are today on their way back up the Federal-court ladder, from Clarendon County, S. C., and from Prince Edward County, Va. Neither is likely to reach the Supreme Court this term, but that court now has before it three other segregation suits—one involving the University of Florida, one a South Carolina bus line, one a North Carolina public golf course, and all of them having needed Negro plaintiffs.

And as enforcement orders mount—and they will—some day, somewhere in the area of defiance, some Southern officials are going to refuse to obey a specific Federal-court command. At that point, nullification or interposition will have become rebellion. At that point, it will be the duty of the district judge to order the officials arrested for contempt of court, and it may become the duty of the President of the United States to effect those arrests and execute that court command—by force if necessary.

At that point, the back of rebellion will be broken.

The technically legal types of dilatory disobedience may go on. But as they go on, the Supreme Court, instead of backing down as some Southerners are wishfully predicting, will gradually fill in the loopholes left open by its 1954 ruling. As they go on, the simple acceptance of the law of the land will become a habit that will seep deeper and deeper into the South—until the last little island of defiance, and of segregation, disappears.

The pattern of defiance is by no means uniform in the 17 states where segregated schools were the rule (see map). Five states—Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina—are out to circumvent the ruling. Seven—Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland and Delaware (plus Washington, D. C.)—have already desegregated some 250,000 Negro pupils. The other states are on the fence—some will stall, some comply

Map by H. H. H. 1955





Fear underlies the conflict

*It's a fear that is partly political, partly economic;
it's also a social fear with sexual undertones*

By **WILLIAM ATTWOOD**

LOOK NATIONAL AFFAIRS EDITOR

FEAR—a fear so deep-rooted that it sometimes defies rational analysis—is the dominant emotion racking the South today. It is fear that makes insately courteous people rant about the “nine ninnies” on the Supreme Court; it is fear that incites a howling mob to threaten a lonely girl on an Alabama campus. It is fear—fear of self-appointed vigilantes—that stifles the voices of Southern liberals and drowns out the words of moderates.

During this year of mounting crisis, I have traveled in a dozen Southern states, talking with both whites and Negroes about a problem that torments them all. As an outsider, I could expect blunt answers to my blunt questions. From the answers, some conclusions gradually began to emerge.

Whatever they may tell you, white Southerners are afraid of the Negro in their midst. And they are afraid of him today as never before. For the Negro no longer behaves like the amiable “darker” who knew his place and did not question the white man’s right to give the orders. Today’s Southern Negro, with the ruling of the Supreme Court on his side, appears to be challenging the justice of a way of life that has traditionally given the white man a privileged status.

Some whites will tell you, “We understand the Negroes. Except for a few agitators, they want segregation just as much as we do.” But more of them are beginning to realize that they don’t know the Negro any more, that the few with whom they have any social contact tell them only what they want to hear. Incidents like the disciplined and effective Negro boycott of the Montgomery, Ala., bus system (see *What Do Negroes Really Want?* on succeeding pages) have helped shatter the illusion that colored people in the South are docile, indifferent and content.

So the white man begins to wonder—and to be afraid.

The fear is partly political. In the Black Belt, white men shudder at the prospect of Negro bloc-voting that might put them under the jurisdiction of colored officials. Still haunted by the nightmare of Reconstruction, they now feel that any concession to Negro demands for equality means another surrender, another Appomattox.

The fear is also economic. Industrialization has enabled Negroes to earn wages that are making them independent of an economic order based on discrimination. New plants are siphoning off the South’s traditional source of cheap labor and domestic servants. A Negro with money in the bank is no longer at the mercy of the dominant race; he becomes a customer to be catered to. So you find white men telling you in the same breath that they want to attract new industry but fear its effect on the “Nigras.”

And the fear is social, with profound sexual undertones. To a white Southerner, classroom integration implies a kind of social equality that does not exist even on an assembly line. He will tell you that sooner or later, some Negro boy will be

walking his daughter home from school, staying for supper, taking her to the movies . . . and then your Southern friend asks you the inevitable, the clinching question: “Would you want your daughter to marry a Nigra?”

And there is nothing you can say to quiet his fears. You can reply, “She can say ‘no,’ can’t she?” You can point out that integrated schools elsewhere have not led to intermarriage. Your friend only shrugs. The fear is too deeply ingrained. The sexual neurosis makes many whites impervious to logic. They are obsessed by the notion that Negroes, given a chance, will take over their women as well as their golf clubs and legislatures. And the fact that most of America’s original mulattoes were sired, in the years of slavery, by Southern white men in a segregated society does not inhibit them from asserting that mixed schools will “mongrelize” the race.

All these murky fears were brought to a boil by the Supreme Court ruling against segregation in schools. Faced with “creeping integration” and egged on by some reckless elements of its own press, the Deep South has decided that the line must be held here at all costs. In such an atmosphere, reason yields to passion and things are said and done which only serve to provide Communists all over the world with effective, ready-made propaganda. In such an atmosphere, an Alabama state senator can accuse Negroes of plotting to take over the Government by electing a Negro Vice-President and then assassinating the President; a Citizens Council leader can proclaim, “This isn’t the United States—this is Sunflower County, Mississippi!” and a Virginia legislator can brag that “it looks like we won the Civil War!”

Is it any wonder that Negroes, too, are alarmed? Inflamed by equally reckless parts of their own press, convinced that their white neighbors want to set back the clock, they are becoming increasingly apprehensive and hostile. Many are in a mood to answer violence with violence, reprisals with reprisals.

Fear, on both sides, has aggravated racial tensions to the danger point, and many anxious Southerners are predicting that things will get worse before they get better.

And yet out of this turmoil may come a new climate of understanding. The present crisis may be causing pain and torment; but it may also have lanced an abscess. For it has impelled the white Southerner to expose his fears, confront reality and examine his conscience.

The reality, as we shall see in this report, is that the South is in transition. Changes in its economy, its social customs and its thinking are taking place every day. The impact of technology and all forms of communication has been more extensive than many Southerners realize. Young people don’t talk like their elders; they are accepting the fact that the Negro is a person, not a kind of inferior being. Negroes are voting in substantial numbers; their political influence can no longer be discounted. And as they begin to participate in civic affairs, a new neighborliness—based on the strange, deep-down affection that Southerners of both races still feel for each other—may yet replace the mutual suspicion that divides them today.

County official turns down Negro children who applied for admission to Old Fort, N. C., school last September.

What is a Southerner?

*He is many people—not just one,
as some think—and he has many faces,
each with a new vitality*

SHAKING OFF SLUMBER and self-pity, the South today has moved a long way from *Tobacco Road* and *Gone With the Wind*. An economy once based on a single crop now boasts diversified agriculture and booming industries. Per capita income has doubled—in some states has tripled—in 15 years. The value of South Carolina's industry, for example, has jumped from \$495,000,000 to \$1,657,591,000 since World War II. Economics and better communications are changing Dixie's personality as well. Today's Southerner, for all his regional pride, is more like his fellow Americans than at any time since the days of Jefferson.

A Southerner is a child maturing in a changing world...

a fisherman drifting through the murky waters of the Mississippi...



Produced by PETER VAN SLINGERLAND



a textile worker, contributing to the region's new industrial development...



a planter, reaping an ever greater crop with the aid of new farming methods...



a young girl, homesick as a cheerleader at school, but still a Southern belle...



a Yankee, bringing with him new ideas and shouting those of his new home...

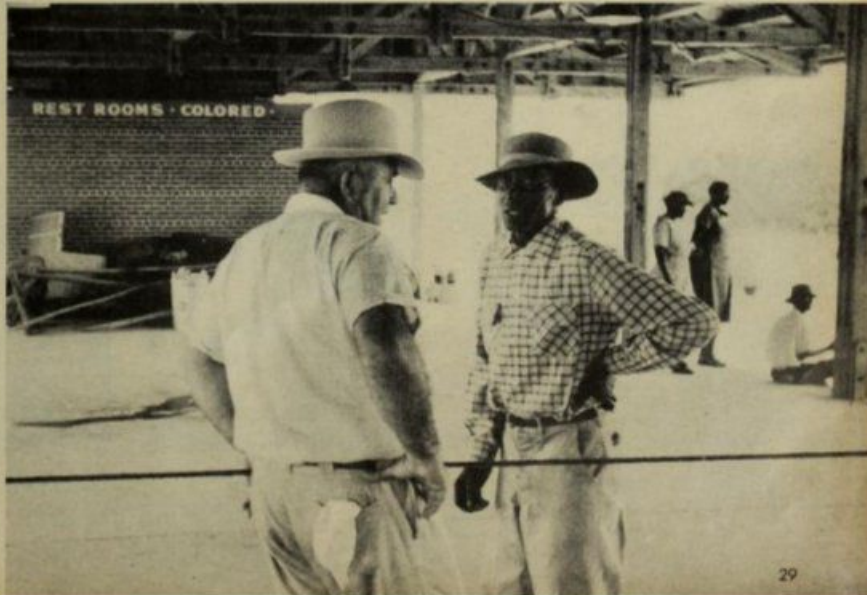


a clubwoman, guardian of tradition, studying a new flower arrangement...



a Jewish merchant, unhampered by bias in an area of racial prejudice...

and a Southerner is also a Negro, separated from his white neighbors by even so frail a thing as a barrier in a public market.





Private Foster, U. S. A.

After mail call, Joe and Len Goodbread of Rochester, N. Y., compare letters from home. "Joe's been a good friend," says Len. "In my book, that's all that matters."

...an integrated soldier ... a segregated citizen

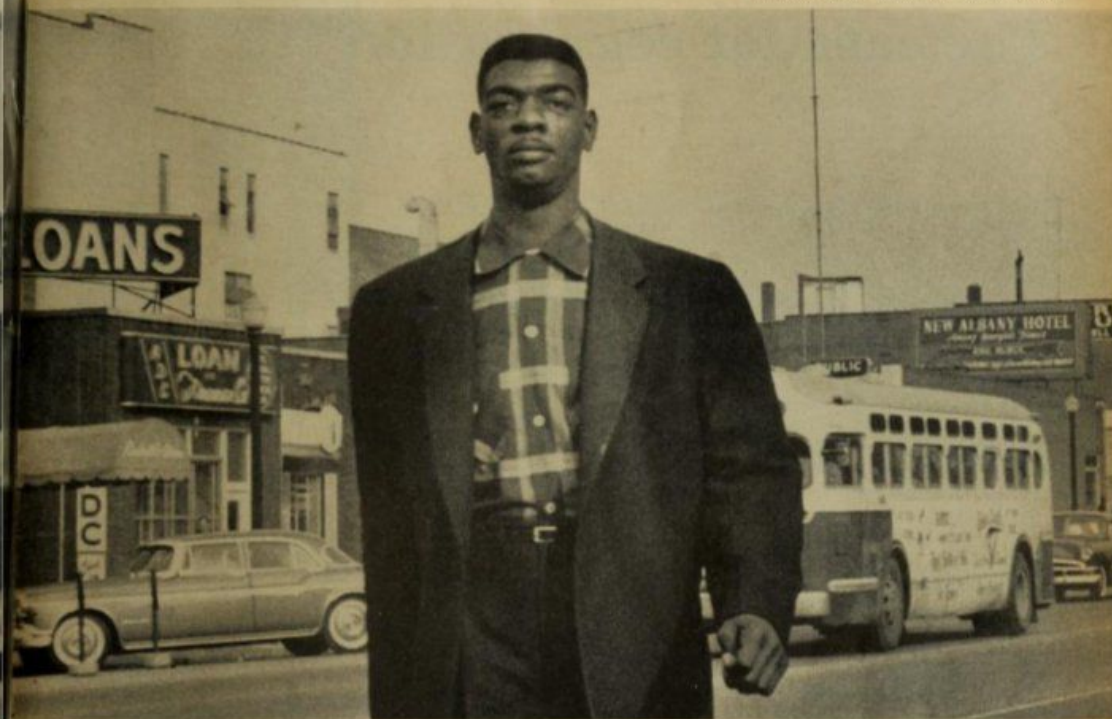
CAN A MAN ENDURE a life half free, half segregated? Joe Foster has been able to. Twenty-two of his 25 years were spent in Albany, Ga., where a white man is a "gentleman" and a colored man is often just a "nigger." But in September, 1953, Joe entered another world. In Uncle Sam's Army, he found that a man is a man and that only the first sergeant has a right to think he's better than the next. Even young white "gentlemen" from the Deep South were friendly. Joe lived, marched, ate, joked and shaved with whites. The few times he found resentment, it soon disappeared. In February, 1954, Joe went overseas for an 18-month tour of duty. He's now back in the States at Camp Gordon, Ga., taking advanced military-police training. Camp Gordon is only 225 miles from Albany, but it could be a million miles away in terms of human relations. The Army has taught Joe the meaning of equality. When he's in Albany, Joe knows that equality is a word you just don't use.



Post cafeteria is a good place to meet friends and relax. If this were a white civilian restaurant, Joe couldn't even enter it.



Bowling alley on post is one of the places they can go together. But in nearby Augusta, local segregation rules split them up.



"This is home," says Joe, surveying the business section of Albany. "I don't like segregation, but segregation or not, this is where I want to live."

When he comes home on furlough, Joe Foster enters another world. It's a world of "colored entrance" signs and a pretty little town cut in half by fear, ignorance and the remains of a dead civilization. A man isn't just a man in Albany. He's either a white man or a colored man, and local rules say that never the twain shall meet. But Joe isn't bitter about it: "There's troubles here," he says. "But it's my home town and I'm proud of it."

Around visiting, Joe stops to chat with a friend. Not only taxis but many other things from buses to barbershops are restricted by segregation rules.



"Colored entrance" and a separate ticket window must be used by Joe at a movie. Even where segregation signs have been removed, custom still prevails.



The case for segregation

By SAM J. ERVIN, JR.
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NORTH CAROLINA



New Negro schools, like this one in Norfolk, Va., attest efforts of South to meet problems in its own way.

The issue of racial segregation is surcharged with emotional tensions and mental misunderstandings.

I believe in racial segregation as it exists in the South today.

Southerners of both races practice racial segregation in those areas of life which are essentially social in nature. There is little other racial segregation in the South.

As it exists in the South, racial segregation does not prevent a Southerner of either race from forming warm and mutually helpful friendships with members of the other race. Interracial friendships of this character are, in fact, commonplace in the South.

The reasons for my belief in social segregation based on race are simple. They do not rest on any theory of racial superiority or racial inferiority.

Despite the clamor of sincere persons, professional agitators and political opportunists to the contrary, racial segregation is not the offspring of racial bigotry or racial prejudice. It results from the exercise of a fundamental American freedom—the freedom to select one's associates. Whenever Americans are at liberty to choose their own associates, they virtually always select within their own race. It is not strange that this is so.

This freedom is bottomed on a basic law of nature—the law that like seeks like. It is one of the most precious of human rights, because man finds his greatest happiness when he is among people of similar cultural, historical and social background.

A great many people of both the white and Negro races are deeply disturbed by the proposals to abolish racial segregation in those areas of life which are essentially social in nature. They realize that if a valid law requiring desegregation should be adopted, they would no longer have the freedom to select their associ-

ates. They would be forced to associate by legal formula rather than by personal preference.

Social segregation based on race is an actual condition and not a mere theory in the South. It is, indeed, recognized by the vast majority of Southerners, both white and Negro, as an acceptable way of life for both races.

These things being true, no one other than a zealot blinded by fanaticism or an opportunist playing the dangerous game of racial exploitation will say that racial segregation as it exists in the South can be abolished by court decree or legislative fiat in the twinkling of an eye. Racial segregation, meanwhile, has not robbed Southern Negroes of major economic opportunities. In many Southern cities, they operate banks, insurance companies, public-transportation systems and other substantial business enterprises.

The South as a region has many troublesome problems other than that of race—problems arising out of poverty and its Siamese twins, ill-health and ignorance. Sincere Southerners, white and Negro, work together to find solutions for these problems. These Southerners are often hindered in their efforts by the bungling activities of well-meaning persons residing in distant sections of the country. These persons overlook the problems lying on their own doorsteps in their zeal to reconstruct the South once again.

Josh Billings once said: "It is better to be ignorant than to know what ain't so."

These well-meaning intermeddlers are not ignorant but, unfortunately for the South, they "know what ain't so" as far as Southern problems are concerned. They are, I must admit, quite human in their cocksureness concerning racial problems. They are confident that they have all the answers for any racial problem in the South, even though their geographical, residential, financial and social stations isolate

them completely from all personal contact with Southern conditions.

These interfering outsiders, who weep because they think the South is cruel to its children when it segregates them on the basis of race in the public schools, simply ignore the hundreds of thousands of Negro children who are actually segregated in schools in Northern cities by gerrymandered school districts embracing the ghettos where Negroes live.

They likewise overlook the discrimination practiced against Negroes in the North in respect to employment as teachers in public schools. North Carolina alone, with a Negro population of 1,047,353, employs 8,459 Negro schoolteachers—while in 12 states east of the Mississippi and north of the Mason-Dixon line, there are 3,351,402 Negroes and only 7,712 Negro teachers.

Public Schools Are Social Units

The present attack on racial segregation is spearheaded mainly by three groups: well-meaning outsiders, whose unfamiliarity with the South causes them to "darken counsel by words without knowledge"; political opportunists who hanker after votes; and Negro leaders, who demand that all governmental powers be diverted from their proper functions to force the involuntary mixing of the races.

Southern states insist on segregating their children in their public schools according to race because people in these states realize that public schools are social and educational institutions of a local character.

They know that the social commingling of the races is alien to the way of life of Southerners of both races. They are satisfied that the children of both races will make the most satisfactory progress in the relaxed atmosphere of segregated schools.

They are convinced, moreover, that the march of the South toward the good life for all its people will be substantially impeded if its public schools are converted into laboratories for sociological experiments in race relations.

These views merit earnest consideration by other sections of the country. After all, the Southern states know something about their racial problem. They live with it day by day and, notwithstanding their comparative poverty, spend far more money for the education of Negroes than all the other states.

But Southerners are told somewhat angrily by meddling outsiders that they are not now even privileged to entertain or express their honest opinions as to the desirability of having their own public schools operated on a segregated basis. The reason given Southerners for their loss of the basic American rights of freedom of thought and freedom of speech is this: On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision entitled *Brown v. Board of Education* holding that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Consti-



Senator Ervin: "Voluntary segregation offers an opportunity to work out problems with basic good will."

tution forbids the states to segregate white and Negro children in their public schools solely on the basis of race.

The Fourteenth Amendment became effective July 28, 1868. Until May 17, 1954—a period of 86 years—the executive branches of the Federal and state governments, Congress, state legislatures and Federal and state courts declared by their words and deeds that under the Constitution of the United States each state reserved the power to control its public schools, that a state could establish and operate separate schools for white and Negro children, and that such action by a state did not conflict in any way with the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Supreme Court of the United States itself stamped this interpretation of the Constitution with its express approval in two of its decisions—in 1896 and in 1927.

In their opinion in *Brown v. Board of Education*, Chief Justice Warren and his associates repudiated upon the basis of psychology and sociology the interpretation placed upon the Constitution in general and the Fourteenth Amendment in particular during those preceding 86 years.

In so doing, they said, "We cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* [in which the court approved the separate-but-equal doctrine] was written." They clearly implied that their novel decision was based on this astounding constitutional philosophy: The Constitution automatically amends itself from time to time without any change in its wording and without any action by the Congress and the States as required by Article V; and the scope and times of the automatic amendments are determinable by the Supreme Court alone.

If this philosophy prevails, the Constitution will be reduced to a worthless scrap of paper, the American system of government will perish, and the states and their citizens will become helpless subjects of a judicial oligarchy. The unsoundness of this constitutional philosophy is manifest if recourse is had to the writings of Judge Thomas M. Cooley of Michigan, one of the greatest authorities of all time on the American Constitution. Judge Cooley held that written constitutions are framed "with a view to putting the fundamentals of

A Southern moderate holds that Negroes accept segregation and that outside pressures actually retard better racial understanding

government" beyond the control of "the varying moods of public opinion"; that the meaning of a written constitution "is fixed when it is adopted and . . . is not different at any subsequent time when a court has occasion to pass upon it"; that "a court . . . which should allow a change in public sentiment to influence it in giving to a written constitution a construction not warranted by the intention of its founders would be justly chargeable with reckless disregard of official oath and public duty"; and that if such a course should become a precedent, a written constitution "would be of little avail."

The interfering outsiders, the political opportunists and the Negro leaders do not stop with denying to Southerners freedom of thought and of speech. They say further that the oaths of Southerners to support the Constitution bind them to accept the 1954 decision as sacrosanct; and if Southerners question the rightness of that decision, they are offering violence to the Constitution itself.

Who Does Violence to the Constitution?

These assertions leave Southern laymen somewhat bewildered. They cannot grasp how it is that their oaths to support the Constitution compel them to accept what Chief Justice Warren and his associates said about the Fourteenth Amendment; whereas the oaths of Chief Justice Warren and his associates to support the Constitution permit them to reject what their judicial predecessors said on the same subject.

The charge that one offers violence to the Constitution if he questions the correctness of a decision of the Supreme Court is not new. It was made against Abraham Lincoln by Stephen A. Douglas in their debates of 1858.

Lincoln denounced the then Supreme Court of the United States for its decision in the *Dred Scott Case*—a decision to the effect that the Constitution prohibited the Congress from excluding slavery from new territories. This holding was without warrant under the Constitution and was handed down by judges who undertook to substitute their private notions for the law of the land in obedience to public sentiment. It produced a bloody and fratricidal war and the cruelty of Reconstruction.

Lincoln declared that the *Dred Scott* decision was "erroneous"; that it was based "in part . . . on assumed historical facts which were not really true"; that "all there . . . was in the way of precedent . . . on the points therein decided had been against that decision"; that he would not "make it a rule of political action for the people and . . . the departments of government"; and that if he "were in Congress, and a vote should come . . . on whether slavery should be prohibited in the new territories in spite of the *Dred Scott* decision, he would vote for it."

Thoughtful Southerners deplore the 1954 decision for two reasons. They know that the

constitutional structure of our government is imperiled by the astounding philosophy on which the court based its ruling. They fear, moreover, that the harmonious race relations now existing in the South may be destroyed by the intemperate demands of those who seek immediate mixing of races in public schools.

These persons declare that the decision requires the Southern states to integrate their public schools racially. They demand that this should be done at once, even at the points of bayonets. Most of them would deny the states which resist their demands all Federal school aid and thus visit the supposed sins of Southern fathers upon the heads of Southern children.

Fortunately, those making these demands put an erroneous construction on the decision of May 17, 1954. This decision does not require immediate integration of the public schools of the South. It does not even require integration.

These observations find support in the words of Chief Justice John J. Parker of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, one of the ablest and most distinguished jurists of America. In explaining "exactly what the Supreme Court has decided," Judge Parker said: "What it has decided, and all that it has decided, is that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains. But if the schools which it maintains are open to children of all races, no violation of the Constitution is involved even though the children of different races voluntarily attend different schools, as they attend different churches. Nothing in the Constitution or in the decision of the Supreme Court takes away from the people freedom to choose the schools they attend. The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination. It does not forbid such segregation as occurs as the result of voluntary action. It merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation."

Thomas Carlyle said: "Our main business is not to see what lies dimly in the distance, but to do what lies clearly at hand." I believe, as he, that it is best to solve today's problems today and leave tomorrow's problems to tomorrow.

The most crucial problem confronting the South today is this: How can we obtain an opportunity to seek a sound solution for the South's racial problem in an atmosphere free from emotional tensions and mental misunderstandings? As one who loves and understands Southerners of both races, I believe that this atmosphere can best be obtained at this hour in a system of voluntary school segregation. Such a system is sanctioned by the decision of May 17, 1954. It would afford moderate Southerners of both races an opportunity to solve the South's racial problem in an atmosphere of good will, patience and tolerance. This is the only way in which the problem can be satisfactorily solved.

What do Negroes really want?

*Stronger economically
and backed by the law of
the land, the "new Negro"
will not be intimidated
in his struggle for
first-class citizenship*

By **CARL ROWAN**

PRELIMINARY REPORTER FOR THE
MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE



White Southerners like the Rev. F. Stuart Grizzard told Rowan they opposed tactics of extremists.

In Baton Rouge a few weeks ago, I interviewed a leader of Southern Gentlemen, one of Louisiana's busiest, noisiest pro-segregation groups. It calls itself "the South's answer to the mongrelizers."

J. B. Easterly, a tall, rough-talking builder of cement steps, was practically unheard of two years ago. Today, as Southern Gentleman Number One, he is one of Louisiana's most-quoted men. Through pamphlets and the press, he tells the world that the South "will not be integrated, either suddenly or gradually."

I asked Easterly why his organization is so rabidly opposed to all American children attending the same schools, or playing in the same parks. He handed me a pamphlet which declared that "Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, James Monroe and even Booker T. Washington were in favor of segregation." Then Easterly commented:

"Every city in the world that has practiced desegregation has fallen. That is why God kicked Solomon off the throne. And Judea and Israel—they all fell because they mixed the races. We're not just against mixing niggers and whites; we're against mixing Caucasians with Japs and Chinese."

Easterly then began telling about how he is a great friend of the Negro ("All my life, I ain't done nothing but work niggers."), about how segregation helps the Negro, and how he knows that Negroes like segregation.

"Niggers are starting a national organization for segregation," he said. "Not a white man in it."

When I asked the name of the organization, he replied, "Oh, I ain't gonna give y'all that old nigger's name. Y'all will start economic reprisals against him."

"Who will start economic reprisals?"

"Your editors, the NAACP and the rest of that Commie outfit."

A few hours later, I sat in the office of Dr. C. J. Gilliam, a Baton

Rouge leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He had a different story about what the Southern Negro wants.

"Many years ago, we asked for school equalization. Then, we couldn't get it; now, we don't want it," he said. "We want nothing less than total integration in all facets of American life—and we won't stop until we get it."

Who speaks for the Negro—Easterly or Gilliam? In thousands of miles of travel in several Southern states, I talked to scores of Negroes in all walks of life. They said Gilliam speaks for the Negro. In fact, even the lowliest Negroes expressed wry amusement that white men should pretend to know what the Negro wants, to say what is "best for the Negro."

"If these people really think we want segregation, why must white men hand in secret pressure groups and resort to lawlessness to preserve segregation?" a Mississippi salesman asked me. "Why are these all-white legislatures passing all kinds of frantic, oppressive laws to keep the Negro 'in his place' if they honestly believe the Negro is happy?"

"There is nothing complicated about what we want," said a teacher in Nashville. "We just want the same things other Americans want—the same opportunities, rights and responsibilities."

From illiterate cotton pickers to college presidents, I heard much the same story: The Negro wants his children to grow up free from the scourges of illness, ignorance and poverty. He wants the opportunity to work at the best job for which his intellect and training qualify him. He wants to live in a society where individuals are free to associate, whatever their race or background. The Negro wants a voice in the government that shapes his life. Perhaps most of all, the Negro wants the dignity to which free men are entitled. He wants to be judged on his individual merits as a first-class Ameri-

continued



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All of these tomatoes probably look pretty good to you—and they are. But our tomato experts say that only one is good enough to be an ideal *Campbell Tomato*.

Here are a few hints to help you tell *which* one:

The Campbell Tomato is the same red, all over and all the way through. Our people call this shade "Campbell Red."

The outside of the Campbell Tomato is round and shapely. The inside has small seed sections. It's plump with thick sidewalls and lots and lots of firm, ripe tomato "meat" in the middle.

That's all we can show you in a picture. But, if you could sample the Campbell To-

mato, you'd know it by its flavor—true and fresh, not too sharp or sweet. Or a laboratory test would show you its balance of acidity which gives a special edge to flavor—"sparkle" as the Campbell Chefs call it.

In the Campbell Kitchens, the blending art of the Campbell Chefs brings out the best of all the good things in the Campbell Tomato—color, flavor, "sparkle"—so that you can enjoy them all in products prepared with the Campbell Tomato. Oh, the Campbell Tomato? It's the one at the left in the top row. A plump, red illustration of what we mean when we say:

"To make the best, begin with the best—then cook with extra care."

*"We blend the best with careful pains
in skillful combination,
And every single one contains
Our business reputation."*



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MORE WOMEN CHOOSE FRENCH'S THAN ANY OTHER MUSTARD

WHAT DO NEGROES WANT? continued

"I found Negroes confident of victory."

can citizen, and not as a savage whose tastes "remain close to the caterpillar and cockroach," as Judge Tom P. Brady of Brookhaven, Miss., puts it.

The Negro knows, from more than a century of experience, that there can be neither dignity nor equality of opportunity in a segregated society. He knows that, despite all the verbal gymnastics of the white supremacists, segregation is a badge of inferiority tacked on the supposedly weak by the strong. Racists seek to confuse the Negro with talk of "race pride." But Negroes told me that if they had a free choice, and then they picked the back seat of a bus, or a separate school or water fountain, the "race pride" talk might make sense; but when the separation takes place on the white man's insistence, the white man's assumption of superiority is implicit.

The Negro is confident because of something the white Southerner refuses to admit: There is a new Negro in the land. He is better educated, economically stronger, and he strides toward freedom with a determination bolstered by the knowledge that the major forces at work in the world today are on his side.

Montgomery, Ala., began to feel the presence of this "new Negro" last December 5. In this city of 120,000, Negroes failed repeatedly in efforts to get relief from a system in which city bus drivers cursed and abused Negro passengers, ordered pregnant Negro women to stand so white youths could sit, and discriminated against Negroes in other ways—despite the fact that Negroes represented 70 per cent of their customers. Under the leadership of their ministers, the 60,000 Negroes in the metropolitan area began an almost 100 per cent effective boycott of the buses. Negroes, young and old, have been walking as far as seven miles to work in what their leaders call "a moral and spiritual movement of passive resistance."

"We . . . Have No Hate in Our Hearts. . ."

The Montgomery Advertiser warned Negroes that "... the white man holds all the offices of government machinery. There will be white rule as far as the eye can see." Then, those who prefer violence took over. They dynamited the home of the Rev. Dr. M. L. King, a young Baptist minister and leader of the protest. Two nights later, a bomb exploded in the front yard of E. D. Nixon, former president of the Alabama State Conference of the NAACP.

King asked Negroes not to return violence for violence, to remember their original declaration: "We, the oppressed, have no hate in our hearts for the oppressors, but we are, nevertheless, determined to resist until the cause of justice triumphs."

The Negroes went on walking and the bus company has been losing about \$3,200 a day.

No, the new Negro will not be intimidated. One chilly morning, a 70-year-old woman limped up to the First Baptist Church in Montgomery, looking for a car-pool ride to work. All the cars were out.

"You're old and crippled, and it's cold, old lady," a young Negro said to the woman. "You take the bus to work. We'll understand."

"Children, I ain't got many days left," she replied. "So, I ain't walking for myself. I'm walking for my grandson. I want him to be able to pay his money and take his seat." And off she hobbled.

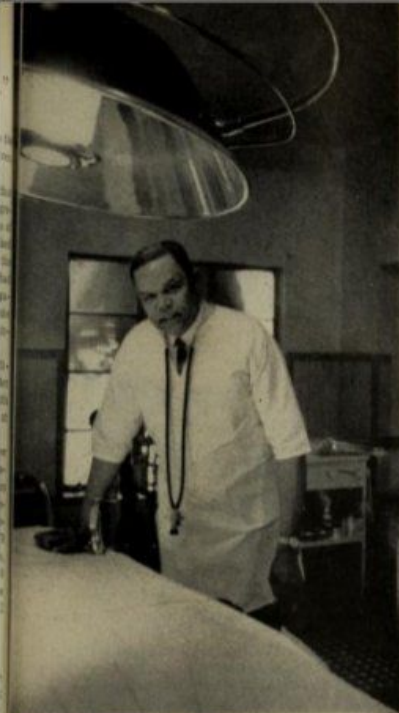
Although I found Negroes confident of victory, I also found concern among both Negroes and whites about the fact that, while much of the enlightened press lies timid and muffled, and many liberal white Southerners sit silent in fear and confusion, unscrupulous politicians and clever hate merchants are pushing a whole region toward darkness and despair.

The demagogues are attempting to "brainwash" the deep South into believing that white people there are the victims of a vast tyranny, spawned in Soviet Russia, and are therefore justified in resorting to defiance and violence, in order to escape this "tyranny."

They are trying to convince the South that the U. S. Supreme Court, which outlawed racial segregation in public schools, parks and playgrounds, is doing the bidding of Communists. The Jackson (Miss.) Daily News said recently that the NAACP "is dedicated to widening [the wedge] handed them by a subversive Supreme Court."

I was interested in the comment of the Rev. F. Stuart Grizzard of Norfolk, Va., a white Southerner who does not fear to speak his convictions: "For 40 years, we have told our Negroes to work through the courts. We asked them not to agitate outside. They went to the

continued



Atlanta's Negroes, long handicapped by inadequate medical facilities, now have their own private hospital, founded in 1946 by Dr. F. Earl McClelland and financed by patients.



Negro-owned savings and loan association in Atlanta, with assets of over \$10,000,000, testifies to growing economic power of Southern Negroes. Firm has some 4,000 depositors (65% white) and a 25-year record of dividends at a steady 3 1/2% rate. Secretary and loan officer Primus Davis (left) says the loan association has already financed thousands of Negro homes and competes successfully for business of white pension funds.



"You never run out of fresh ideas with Borden's Cottage Cheese"

says Elsie, the Borden Cow

"Here's one of my favorite dessert ideas... a plump, golden cheese cake. So good. Lower in calories too because you bake it with my fresh cottage cheese. Here's the easy recipe."

COTTAGE CHEESE CAKE

1 1/2 cups graham cracker crumbs, finely packed • 1 cup heavy cream, whipped
1/4 cup butter, melted • 1 cup sugar • 1/2 cup flour • 1/4 teaspoon salt
2 tablespoons lemon juice • 1 teaspoon vanilla extract • 3 eggs, separated
3 8-oz. packages (3 cups) Borden's Creamed Cottage Cheese, sieved

Blend together graham cracker crumbs and butter. Press evenly on side and bottom of lightly greased 9-inch spring-form pan. Combine cottage cheese, 1/2 cup of the sugar, flour and salt. Stir in lemon juice and vanilla extract. Beat egg yolks until thick. Beat egg whites until stiff gradually beat in 1/4 cup of the sugar, beating until mix turns forms stiff peaks. Fold egg yolks into cheese mixture. Fold in whipped cream and then egg whites. Turn into lined pan. Bake in very slow oven (300° F.) 1 hour. Turn off oven heat and let cake remain in oven one hour, with door closed. Place on cake rack, in pan and let cool. Remove side of pan, chill in refrigerator.

See package for valuable new premium offer.

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What's more, X-100's protects your engine by stopping acid action—the major cause of engine wear.



WHAT DO NEGROES WANT? continued

"If trouble is the price of justice and freedom—let us have trouble."

highest court in the land. Now, some of my people do not want to accept the results."

The merchants of fear also seek to convince the southland that the Northern press and every organization that speaks against segregation are part of a "Communist" scheme to destroy "the Anglo-Saxon race."

Commented NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins: "This 'great crime' that we have committed has been to use the orderly legal processes of our country to demand and win freedom from segregation in public education."

The extremists even try to convince the southland that President Eisenhower, personally, is part of a plot to do injustice to the South. When the President urged, in his State of the Union address, that a bipartisan commission be created to investigate charges that Negroes are being deprived of their civil rights in portions of the South, the Jackson Daily News let loose another editorial blast.

"Those who suspected we had that kind of President in the White House when he named the ignorant, fatheaded Warren as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to write the ignoble 'Black Monday' decision on segregation have had their suspicions verified. . . . The President has earned, and justly deserves, the contempt of all good people throughout the South. . . . Any commission named by him would be about as 'bipartisan' as a hog gobbling rotten guts in a swill trough."

Finally, the voices of defiance seek to convince the entire nation that Negroes are diseased and immoral, and that they suffer from an educational and cultural lag. Thus, they argue, to mix the races would be an unhealthy imposition on white children and an unnecessary handicap to Negro youngsters.

Southern Negroes point out that white Southerners don't seem to worry about disease among the Negro domestics they hire to bathe and nurse their children, prepare their food and wash their linen. And they feel that talk about the educational and cultural lag is part of the argument that the South should be let alone because "whites have paid most of the taxes" for such education as the Negro has been granted. They point out that, in many Southern states, the Negro would have been without education had it not been for philanthropic organizations; and that, for the most part, the white South showed little interest in educating Negroes until the courts began to bear down on it two decades ago.

More important, whites have paid most of the taxes because men pay taxes according to their earnings. In the South, the Negroes have been denied the opportunity to earn as much money as the whites.



Negroes have effectively boycotted the Montgomery, Ala., bus system in effort to win equal treatment. White reprisals included bombing home of Rev. M. L. King, shown walking past car-pool crowd (left). (Below) City buses stand idle as Negro community shares cars or walks to work.



So, Negroes regard these arguments as an attempt to imprison the Negro in the most vicious of circles: Because he has been segregated and discriminated against, he is "not ready" for integration; keep him segregated so he never will be "ready." The whites, guilty of past injustice, seek to use the results as an excuse for continued injustice.

This would be tragic both for Negroes and for the country. Fortunately, I found many Southern whites who are tired of the stigma that sets them apart from other Americans as "hold-my-magnolia-while-I-whip-my-slave" ignoramuses. The Negro hopes that these decent white Southerners will resist attempts at "brainwashing" by bigots, that they will rise up to help Americans prove to the world that our democracy is not static.

The Negro hopes that the Federal courts will not be intimidated by the fury and the violence of those who seek to halt the march of progress by crying: "We warned you there would be trouble. We told you not to outlaw segregation."

But if "trouble" is the price of justice and freedom, the Negro says: "Let us have trouble."

The Negro hopes that, even in an election year, the country's leaders, and particularly the Justice Department, will show as much courage as those Negro and white Americans in the South who are trying to defend the new law of the land. Southerners of both races told me that violence and disorder will grow until the courts and the Justice Department make it plain that this is still a country of law.

The Negro is aware that many of his major gains in the last two decades resulted from pressures originating outside the South. He hopes that the churches and the press of Northern and border states will not be deceived now by that old cry of anguish, "Let us solve our own problem." Segregation is America's problem. We all pay for it in the eyes of a critical world and in the domestic weaknesses that it produces.

Yes, the American Negro still hopes—even when his patience is strained.

William Faulkner, Nobel Prize-winning Mississippi author, said these words last fall before the Southern Historical Association:

"To live anywhere in the world of A.D. 1955 and be against equality because of race or color is like living in Alaska and being against snow."

The American Negro knows that this is true. He prays that enough white Americans realize it in time to make them do what is essential to preserve government by law at home and faith in U. S. democracy abroad.

continued

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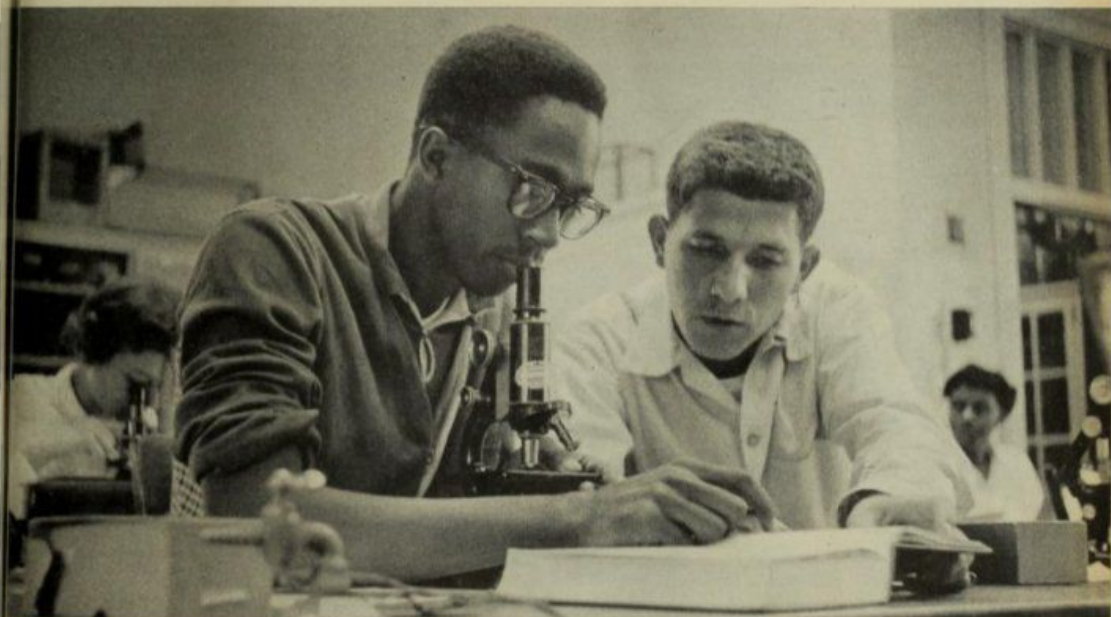
OLDSMOBILE

TOP VALUE TODAY . . . TOP RESALE TOMORROW!



Adults count too. When the St. Louis Board of Education began moving toward integration in the public schools, long before any Supreme Court ruling, church, press and civic groups co-operated to inform parents.

The pattern of compliance



When integrated classes were established, it was soon found that students at work didn't seem to care whether their neighbor's skin was light or dark.

A city tries integration—and discovers that it works

St. Louis is a Southern town—by character and choice, if not by geography—and it might have been expected that there would be difficulty when the time came to mingle white and Negro children in the same schoolroom.

There has been no difficulty because St. Louis is lucky enough to have among its 850,000 residents a few men and women who not

only believe in democracy but teach it and practice it. The example of St. Louis could be studied with profit by other Southern towns.

In St. Louis, where the school enrollment is 36 per cent Negro (the percentage of Negroes in the city as a whole is 20), paving the road to desegregation began 12 years ago, under Philip J. Hickey, superintendent of schools. Believing that the basis of all intolerance is a feeling of insecurity, Hickey set up a committee to study the problem of racial prejudice.

continued

Produced by CHESTER MORRISON

When the time came, St. Louis was ready

For twelve years, Hickey and his aides hammered the Golden Rule into the heads of St. Louisans. And when the Supreme Court handed down its ruling, St. Louis was ready to comply. There were professional hate groups that balked, and sometimes the ingrained prejudices of adults were manifested. But the pupils in the schools took to integration the way baseball took to Jackie Robinson. Now, there is not an all-white or all-Negro school in the city.

A basic argument of anti-integrationists is that when Negro children are moved into a white school, the scholastic average of the class is depressed. That does happen. But in St. Louis—and in Washington, D. C., where the school population is even more heavily Negro—the teachers will tell you this: The lowering of the scholastic average in integrated schools is not an indication that Negro children are less bright than white children; all it means is that so-called "separate but equal" school facilities never have existed. According to the Supreme Court, they never can. continued



Getting on with others is a talent to learn early. A boy can acquire the habit easily if prejudice does not get in the way. It will last him for a lifetime.

Playing games together, these girls think of their team, not of each other's race. They are much too busy trying to sink a basket to worry about the color line.



Reward Yourself

with the pleasure of smooth smoking



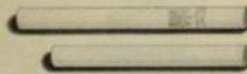
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When the job's done, relax, reward yourself—with the smooth, gentle mildness of America's most rewarding cigarette. PALL MALL is so fresh and fragrant, so cool and sweet, it tastes freshly-lit puff after puff. Choose well—smoke PALL MALL.



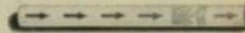
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Fine tobacco is its own best filter. And PALL MALL's greater length of fine tobacco travels the smoke further—filters the smoke and makes it mild. You get smoothness, mildness, and satisfaction no other cigarette can offer you. Enjoy the finest quality money can buy.



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You get more than greater length when you smoke PALL MALL. For PALL MALL tobaccos are the finest quality money can buy. No finer tobacco has ever been grown—and here it is blended to a flavor peak—delicious . . . and distinctively PALL MALL. Buy PALL MALL today.



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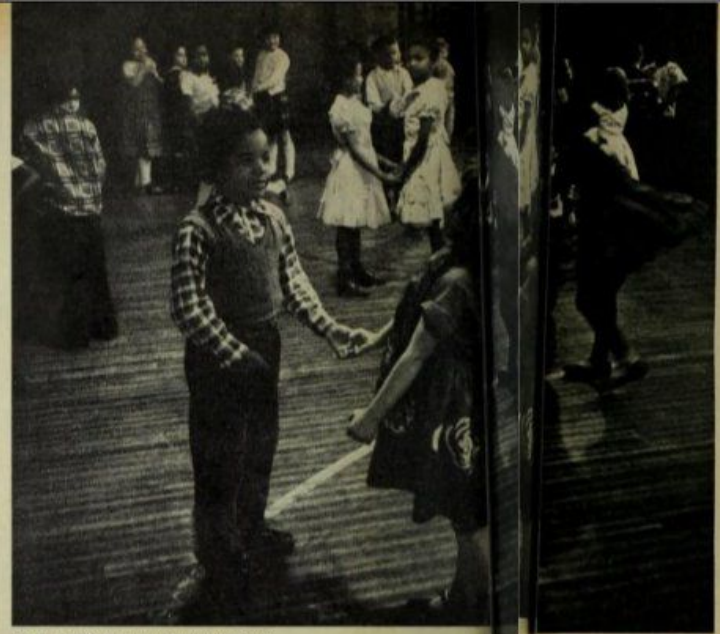
how fine
a train can be



Perhaps it's the thoughtful service. Or the Fred Harvey food. Or... as seasoned travelers put it, there's just nothing like the Super Chief. Won't you join us?

EXTRA FARE—AND WORTH IT!

Super Chief



These children feel no sense of contamination as they play together, but it is unlikely that they will fall in love and get married. Pupils in integrated schools study and play together with little friction, but in their extracurricular activities, they choose their own friends, as everyone else does.



Students in this school workshop are learning what many fighting men discovered: When there is a job to do, and it takes two men to do it, there is no point in taking time out to brood about prejudice. What really counts is how the other fellow does the job.



PATTERN OF COMPLIANCE
continued

The small fry never
think of color bars

Hickey was wise enough in 1944 to foresee what was going to happen in 1954. He sensed that desegregation was the coming thing; that the time was not far off when the Supreme Court would rule in favor of the Bill of Rights. His committee produced an analysis of conditions as they were in 1944, and a program of objectives that must have startled even him.

Basically, the report stated that an individual must be accepted at his personal worth; that the welfare of St. Louis depended on the work and good will of all kinds of St. Louisans; that if you taught sense to adults as well as to children, tensions between groups of people would be eased.

It's the same story in Washington...

When public schools in the District of Columbia were integrated last year, in compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court, some concern was expressed over the fact that Negro pupils outnumbered whites by almost two to one. But desegregation proceeded smoothly, and all of Washington's 68,877 Negro pupils are now enrolled in 147 mixed schools. Now that it has been done, parents are asking themselves what the fuss was all about. As for their children, they don't seem to care—if they ever did—whether the girl who takes charge as moderator of the current-events class (left) is white or Negro. This has been the general pattern wherever integration has been tried in the border states.

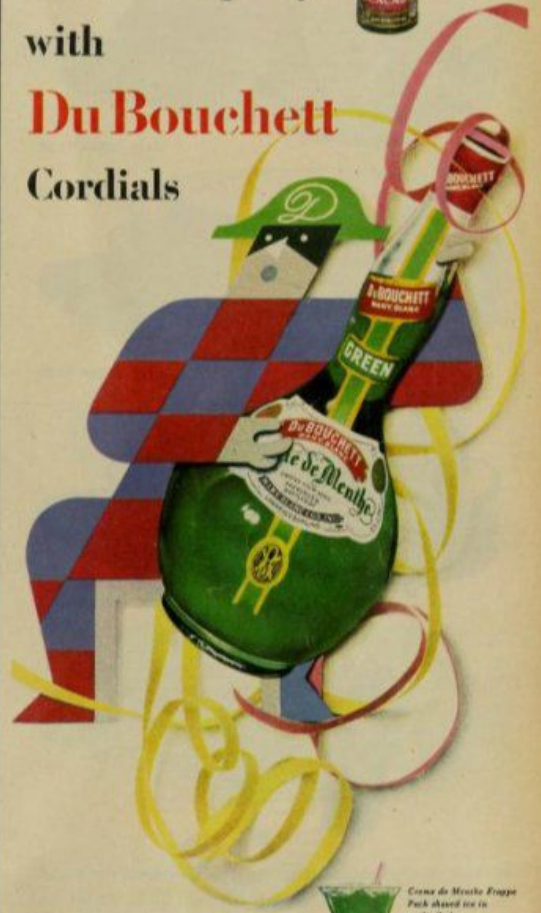
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Try a DuBouchett Cordial straight after dinner tonight. And later, when friends drop in, serve delicious mixed drinks made with DuBouchett Cordials. That's *smart* entertaining!

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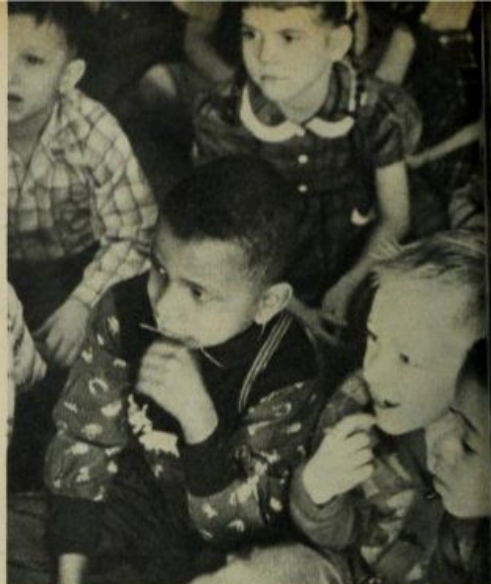
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BELTS
JEWELRY

HICKOK

WALLETS
SUSPENDERS



Mixed classes like this one are now a fact in parts of the South. Nine states and District of Columbia have desegregated 256,020 Negro pupils since the 1954 ruling.

Is this the pattern of the future?

IN ALL BUT A FEW STATES of the Union, the picture on this page would cause neither astonishment nor even much comment. The overwhelming majority of American children are attending schools that draw no color line, and the areas that still practice segregation are shrinking all the time.

The trend toward compliance, toward integration, may have been arrested in certain states, but nowhere has it been reversed.

Some of the reasons for the trend have emerged in this report: First, the authority of the Supreme Court now stands squarely behind those who believe in integration. For all their bluster, the die-hard segregationists know full well that the law, in the long run, can neither be flouted nor circumvented.

Second, the deep-seated racial prejudice of many older white Southerners, a prejudice compounded of fear and tradition, has not always been inherited by their sons and daughters. Southerners under 25 are more tolerant, more open-minded, more inclined to judge a Negro on his merits as a person.

Third, the South, as a geographic entity and a state of mind, is disappearing. New industries, new jobs and new people are churning up a long-stagnant area. Southern attitudes and stereotypes are being submerged in the process.

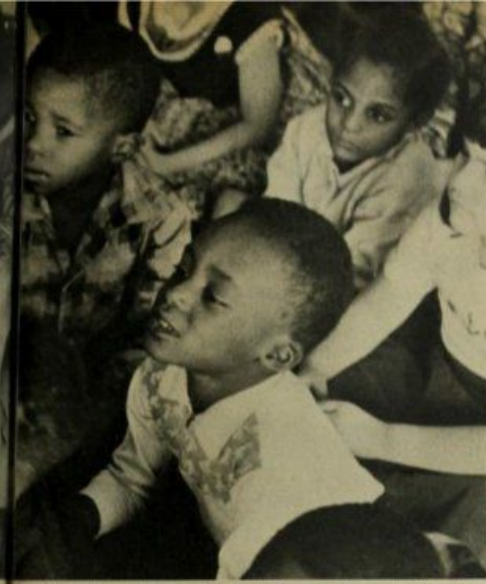
Fourth, integration in other fields—in industry and the Army—is cracking the hard crust of discrimination and compelling whites to think of their Negro neighbors in different terms.

Fifth, Southern Negroes—better educated, better organized, stronger politically and economically—will no longer be pushed around. They are standing up for their rights; and one of these rights, as they see it, is to live in a desegregated society.

Sixth, in those states which have started to desegregate their schools, people are learning that compliance with the law does not lead to "mongrelization" or even enforced social mixing.

So there seems to be good reason to predict that integration will be the pattern of the future—if by the future we mean not the next few months, but several years hence.

Americans everywhere hope that this period of transition will not be marred by intemperance and violence. Incidents like the riot-



Mixed classes like this one are now a fact in parts of the South. Nine states and District of Columbia have desegregated 256,020 Negro pupils since the 1954 ruling.

Is this the pattern of the future?

ing at the University of Alabama not only hurt America's good name overseas but allow the extremists on both sides to drown out the moderates and to substitute invective for good will, lawlessness for common sense.

Experience has shown that the trend to gradual integration can either be accomplished smoothly—or it can ignite passions that will leave ugly scars for generations. This is the real challenge facing the South today. If the Southern moderates will assert themselves and persuade their fellow citizens to lay aside their Confederate flags and their clarion calls and to think in terms of eventual compliance, then the South will find sympathy, understanding and patience in the courts and in the nation.

But if they stand silent while the racial demagogues in their midst preach defiance and subversion, then this great domestic crisis may become a great American tragedy.

—WILLIAM ATTWOOD

END

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