“Nothing new to report again today, Mr. Hoover”
Paul Conrad, Los Angeles Times, June 13, 1969

The Southern Manifesto

Nineteen Senators and 81 Representatives from the South expressed their opposition to the Supreme Court’s decision in Brown v. Board of Education in a manifesto read into the Congressional Record on March 12, 1956.

We regard the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the Federal judiciary undertaking to legislate, in derogation of the authority of Congress, and to encroach upon the reserved rights of the States and the people.

The original Constitution does not mention education. Neither does the 14th amendment nor any other amendment. The debates preceding the submission of the 14th amendment clearly show that there was no intent that it should affect the systems of education maintained by the States.

The very Congress which proposed the amendment subsequently provided for segregated schools in the District of Columbia.

When the amendment was adopted, in 1868, there were 37 States of the Union. Every one of the 26 States that had any substantial racial differences among its people either approved the operation of segregated schools already in existence or subsequently established such schools by action of the same lawmaking body which considered the 14th amendment.

Though there has been no constitutional amendment or act of Congress changing this established legal principle almost a century old, the Supreme Court of the United States, with no legal basis for such action, undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land.

This unwarranted exercise of power by the Court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the States principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding.

With the gravest concern for the explosive and dangerous condition created by this decision and inflamed by outside meddlers:

- We reaffirm our reliance on the Constitution as the fundamental law of the land.
- We decry the Supreme Court’s encroachments on rights reserved to the States and to the people, contrary to established law and to the Constitution.
• We commend the motives of those States which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means.

• We appeal to the States and people who are not directly affected by these decisions to consider the constitutional principles involved against the time when they too, on issues vital to them may be the victims of judicial encroachment.

Even though we constitute a minority in the present Congress, we have full faith that a majority of the American people believe in the dual system of government which has enabled us to achieve our greatness and will in time demand that the reserved rights of the States and of the people be made secure against judicial usurpation.

We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation.

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.

Source: Congressional Record, 84th Congress Second Session, Vol. 102, Part 4 (March 12, 1956)
“Tell me again how different things are gonna be with Warren off the Supreme Court”
November 16, 1969

Administration Line
(untitled cartoon, February 15, 1970)

“I’m hijacking the bus! ...Take us back to 1954!”
March 17, 1972

“One nation divisible...”
March 21, 1972

Selected Bibliography

Print Resources


A collection of 300 Conrad cartoons assembled by decades from the sixties to the nineties.


The cartoons featured in this collection begin with the Clinton impeachment and go back in time examining key issues in the Bush, Reagan, Carter, Nixon administrations.


A provocative look at contemporary issues through 179 cartoons drawn for the Los Angeles Times.


This teaching unit explores the Brown case, public reaction to the decision, and its effect on the civil rights movement.


The text includes nearly 1,000 short interviews with men, women, and children—black and white—who participated in the civil rights movement. The book was prepared as a companion to the prize-winning PBS series Eyes on the Prize.


A case study of the civil rights movement in Birmingham with inside accounts of the struggle that pitted Police Commissioner Bull Connor and Governor George Wallace against black ministers Fred Shuttlesworth and Martin Luther King, Jr., among others.


A photographic history of the civil rights movement in the South from 1958 to 1965.

A firsthand account of the events that led to Bloody Sunday at the Edmund Pettus Bridge in 1965 as told by two girls, aged eight and nine, who took part in demonstrations to protest discriminatory voting laws.


Six lessons built around four political cartoons that help students analyze political cartoons. The lessons focus on the use of symbols, the interaction of words and symbols, and stereotyping.