

Excerpts From Speech by N.A.A.C.P.

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Following are excerpts from the keynote address of Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood, chairman of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at the association's annual convention here today:

Two years ago, former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, speaking for the Kerner commission, called for "the reaffirmation of our faith in one society," and the commission itself sounded a warning that the nation is moving in the direction of two societies—one black, one white—separate and unequal.

Today, the signs are even more ominous. On every hand, the commentators and the politicians, the faint-hearted liberals and the tragically misguided black separatists, are announcing the end of integration, especially in the schools.

For the first time since Woodrow Wilson, we have a national Administration that can be rightly characterized as anti-Negro.

This is the first time since 1920 that the national Administration has made it a matter of calculated policy to work against the needs and aspirations of the largest minority of its citizens.

Here are a few instances supporting our contention of the Administration's anti-Negro policy:

1. Signing of defense contracts with textile companies long in violation of contract requirements versus our recommendations that these contracts be canceled.

2. The pull-back on school desegregation. The Administration went into court to secure delays in already ordered desegregation. Thank God, the Supreme Court struck down these attempts.

High Court Nominations

3. The nominations of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell to the United States Supreme Court (which nominations were defeated by the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P., along with other organizations, including the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, of which Roy Wilkins is chairman and in which fight our Clarence Mitchell demonstrated his superb skills on Capitol Hill as truly the 101st Senator).

4. The Administration at Washington weakened our hard-won voting rights act in the House.

5. The Administration opposed the cease-and-desist order power of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

6. The Administration supported the Stennis amendment on the school appropriation bill.

7. The Administration produced the Moynihan memorandum calling for "benign neglect."

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Head Calling Administration

8. The Administration supports tax exemption for white, separate private schools, designed to avert desegregation of the public schools.

9. On April 9, after the rejection of his nominee, Judge Carswell, for the Supreme Court, the President described the ideal judge as "someone who believes in the strict construction of the Constitution, as I do—a judge who will not use the power of the Court to seek social change by freely interpreting the law or constitutional clauses." This is

the Administration's expressed opposition to the equal protection clauses of the 14th amendment.

The effect of this has been exactly what was predicted. It has given encouragement to the Southern racists whose fullpage advertisements have exposed their radical retreat to the calendar level of the 1870's, such as produced by Senator [John C.] Stennis of Mississippi and Gov. [John J.] McKeithen of Louisiana, to say nothing of the melodramatic pose of Florida's Gov. [Claude R.] Kirk in defying the Federal court's orders to desegregate the Public schools of the Everglades State.

Before us today, in the solution of the problem of a single society, are the issues arising from what seems to many the futility of our effort toward integration. There is a tremendous white backlash as we have forged a difficult path through the metallic barriers in housing, employment and politics.

A small but vociferous number of Negroes has effected the black retreat, as indicated in the black college students' demands for separate dormitories, separate cafeterias, separate curricula and separate facilities. Incidentally, we should sympathize — even as we disagree — with young black youth whose bitter and bloody experiences on white college campuses have driven them to "the black retreat."

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Anti-Negro

Accentuating Polarity

The white backlash on the one hand and the black retreat on the other hand have combined to accentuate the racial polarity of which the Kerner commission warned.

At this juncture in our national life, we of the N.A.A.C.P., recalling Abraham Lincoln's declaration that "this nation cannot endure half free and half slave," emphatically paraphrase Mr. Lincoln and declare "this country cannot endure half white and half black." If American democracy is to survive, we shall be one society, as the Declaration of Independence envisioned and the Constitution declares.

Ours is a national problem affecting all Americans, and no matter where we live, the problem of one society is before us. For instance, it is easy for Northern Negroes to forget the South because local needs are urgent and desperate, but they do so at their own peril.

Fifty-two per cent of black Americans still live in the South, mostly in cities, where the problems of overcrowding, housing, crime, discrimination, poor education are the same as the North's. In addition, they have the Southern segregation traditions, white supremacy ideology and wanton murderousness.

Killings by Police

Even as lynching was the Roman holiday sport of the 19th century America, killing black Americans promiscuously has been the 20th century pastime of our police, whose primary duty is law enforcement and keeping the peace.

I'm thinking of the six Negroes killed in Augusta, Ga., all shot in the back; of the Panthers slain in their beds in Chicago; of the students slain at Jackson State College; of the almost daily news stories of the indiscriminate, ruthless slaying of black Americans by police

and civilians, under the guise of "law and order," but actually fulfilling the guidelines of a bitter, white majority, whose vain effort to keep us "in our place" leads them to resort to the policeman's pistol and kangaroo court trials.

The white liberals and the churches have not been conspicuous in the fight for freedom lately. No one questions the demand for an immediate end of the Vietnam war. We ask again, why is it that white people always manage to find some issue other than race to which they give their priority at-

tention, the latest of which is pollution and the ecology?

If racial justice and civil rights had commanded just 10 per cent of the attention that white liberals have given to the Vietnam war, we would not be in the position we are today—and it is unlikely that we would have Nixon in the White House either.

We must counteract some black authors who have tried to show that bad English grammar and slurred consonants and special terminology found among poorly educated Negroes (and poorly educated white people) are

really a different language which should be learned and used in ghetto school teaching. Recently a black architect has been working on the theory that Negroes should have distinctive type housing—one which adequately accommodates their tribal instincts inherited from our African past — *reductio ad absurdum!*

Then, after the long series of suggestions of self-imposed apartheid, we must beware of those who once stood on the solid ground of full freedom for all Americans and have now retreated to the wabbling field of compromise and

sinking sands of surrender.

For example, Roy Innis, national director of CORE, recently made a Deep South visit where he was warmly received by Govs. John Bell Williams of Mississippi, John J. McKeithen of Louisiana, Albert Brewer of Alabama and Lester (Ax-Handle) Maddox of Georgia.

For Dual System

He was there to solicit their interest and support of the Innis plan to re-establish a dual school system. His scheme is not to have separate black and white systems by race—oh, no—but

to split the city in half along residential lines, with the white half under its school system and the black half under its system.

You can just imagine how the Governors were delighted with the Innis proposal.

There are others who advocate a separate nation, to be set up somewhere, or for autonomous neighborhoods or districts in the cities—to run our own police, fire department, hospitals, schools and everything else. But they always make it clear that they expect to get the money from the rest of the community.

There is no such thing as autonomy on someone else's money.

No major problem afflicting black Americans can be solved except by solving them for all Americans.

We have worked too long and too hard, made too many sacrifices, spent too much money, shed too much blood, lost too many lives fighting to vindicate our manhood as full participants in the American system to allow our victories to be nullified by phony liberals, die-hard racists, discouraged and demoralized Negroes and power-seeking politicians.