## The Press of Freedom:

# Black on Black

by Robert Brookins Gore

I left Community Church some months ago with mixed feelings. The occasion was a so-called debate between Malcolm X. and Bayard Rustin, and the topic was "Separation or Integration." Being a pacifist, a Negro, and one who has been involved in the racial struggle lately, I expected to be with Mr. Rustin all the way and against Mr. X. "THE PRESS OF FREEDOM"

all the way and against Mr. X. completely. My mixed feelings were the result of the discovery that I was applauding more for Malcolm X. than I was for Bayard Rustin.

During the debate-actually it was more a statement of position on both their parts-it seemed to me as though Bayard Rustin were taking the position of the "radical middle." (For those who wonder what the "radical middle" is, please check The Village Voice of January 18, and see Feiffer's delightful explanation.) I know, of course, that this is not the case with Mr. Rustin, but it seemed so as I listened. There is no question in my mind but that he presented the saner attitude, yet the amazing thing was, how eloquently Malcolm X. stated the problems which Negroes have confronted for so many years. The biggest

"THE PRESS OF FREEDOM" is a department open to contributions from our readers. They may write on any subject and in any style they choose, with the editors retaining the right to select printable manuscripts on the basis of literacy and interest.

difficulty about listening to him—especially for a Negro—is that he wraps the problem up so neatly that one is almost carried on into his faulty conclusions by the wealth of emotions he evokes.

#### World of Good

I must contess that it did my heart a world of good to sit back and listen to Mr. X. list the sins of the white man toward the black man in America. He does it well. I daresay that if I were not already convinced of the ef-

Continued on page 8

### Black on Black

God's favor to the universe."

The point at which I depart

a black superiority to replace a

stated the case as I see it very

well when he said that the ques-

tion which faces the black man

is not what can he do to add to

their (the whites') doom, but what can be done to help in

their redemption. He went on to

substantiate my own thoughts further by saying that "whether

white men like it or not, we need

to force them into being their

Faces It Squarely

One of the many good things

cess of thinking is that he re-

fuses to equivocate about the

problem; he faces it squarely.

Few of us are either able or willing to do this. I only wish

that more Negroes in the vanguard of the movement for ra-

cial equality could do it as well

I might mention my surprise

Rustin, and with his opponent's

leader was even willing to talk

with Mr. X. on the same plat-form. When I asked someone

about this, I got the shoddy re-

ply that "no one should dignify

the Black Muslims by appearing

hite liberal rather than from

a Negro-though I strongly sus-

nect that many Negroes feel the

same way. Well, we had better

One of Malcolm X.'s niest

salient moints against Mr. Rus-

nized that the middle-class Ne

tin's arguments was that

are becoming stronger,

'amen"-that no other

overing-according to Mr.

white

equally

is the very point at

superiority. Both are

bad. Bayard Rustin

sed from page 1

ficacy of looking on humans as humans rather than as black, hite, or any of the shades in between, I might have joined the lack Muslims forthwith.

toe many years, black Americans have not been able to look at white Americans as the same kind of humans, for the most part, and have been placed in a situation where they must make the white man feel omfortable. If they don't—esmatter of life and death.

In his short story "This Morn-This Eventng, So Soon, James Baldwin explains this co the narra-

SHOJIS custom-made ORIENTAL GIFTS ART woodcraft 204-0th Are (20 St.)

SANDALS custom made BELTS BAGS custom & ready made

THE BRITTON LEATHER SHOP

127 MacDaugal St. GR 5-9528



AL 4.8774

WILBURT

The New York Times **Want Ad Office** in Times Square 1457 Broadway Between 41-42 Sts.

Want ads at main office rates

The Haircut has given my shop its fine reputation. It is one of the reasons that my patrons return time JOSEPH'S after time. % Ave. Set. 12-13 Sts. WA 9-1740 COIFFEUR'S LTD.

furniture-

in-therew

3-2576

5 WEST 8th STREET of FIFTH AVENUE JACK COHEN & SOL LITERA, Menogement . GRemorcy 3-5886

HOTEL MARLTON

place to live or a decent way of earning a living. "We talk on the streets," Malcolm X. said, tor of the story, a Negro who "had it made" in Europe, re-turning to Alabama for a white. The narrator admits that he didn't "despise them (the white "and on the corners because the man in the street is the one who is catching hell." And perhaps that is who needs to be reached.

After reaching him, though, what do you tell him? This is people) any more than everyone else did, only the others never let it show. They knew how to where I carnestly wish that Mr. Rustin and Mr. X. could see eye keep white folks happy, and it was easy—you just had to keep them feeling like they were to eye.

The Black Muslim position is from Malcolm X. and the Black Muslims is the very point at that since the white man had so long to do right if he really planned to do so, we might as well accept the fact which I wish they were strong-est. They seem to want to set up that he is either unwilling or incanable of doing so. Therefore, they say, let's just get away from this devil; let him simmer in his own stew. Messenger Elljah Muhammad has said: "Do thank Allah for revealing this evil, deceitful, open enemy, 'the devil!' " He says that "they the white race, cannot treat you and me with justice . . ." Knowing what I do about how evil some people can be, I am almost willing to agree with the Messen ger. But since some of my best friends are white-and my tongue is not in my cheek-I cannot make a blanket statement I can say about Mr. Rustin's proabout the devilishness of white

> If only the black movement white liberals in America could have the verve and sense of dedication of Messenger Muhi mad; if only the Black\_Muslims could have the sense of "un-apartheid" which most black berals have. But perhaps that's asking too much

men with all honesty.

I ought to make it manifest here that I am certainly not going to be placed among those who deride the Black Muslims. While I cannot, on good conscience, agree with their acceptance of separateness, or th together with them in public."
Dignify them indeed! I am only glad that I beard this from a meet violence with violence doctrine for ameliorating racial problems in America, I do feel they are playing an important role as a catalyst for both black and white who move too slowly It's a cinch that if there were begin realizing that we surely enough black liberals who be lieved strongly enough in their "un-dignify" the Muslims. Like it or not, their audience is own position-as do the Muslims-we wouldn't have such a growing larger and their voices

hard row to hoe now. Biggest Problem

The biggest problem, I guess is getting enough people to do Malcolm X., is not trying to what they say they believe. It reach the middle-class Negro; was interesting to hear again the Muslims have already recog-Bayard Rustin's theory of "50 cial dislocation," and heard him explain it and I have gro, for the most part, is not about to risk too much in the times But somehow in the setcause of raising the level of the ting of the Community Church, masses of black people who with Malcolm X, in the background, the theory seemed to make more sense to me. Rus 22 € ₩ tin's idea, to put it in his own words, is that "social dislocation (the use of mass action-really readyeigss action-in order to realize social, political, and economic to-finish equality) can be accomplished by using the bodies of masses of chests, etc Negroes in order to uproot the system of segregation . . . make segregated institution

> Of course, this is not the first time the same sort of idea has been set forth, but my feeling is that Mr. Rustin means pre cisely what he says. There are few instances in my own memory where "recognized" Negro leaders have said this and have put it into practice. (Farmer, Abernathy, Shuttlesworth, and some of the Negro students are exceptions). I don't mean to disparage others-many of them are doing an excellent job in other

the way Rustin talks all just hasn't been tried as as it should have been.

It is understandable why hasn't been tried. My own short sojourn in a Southern jail makes me wonder if I am equal to the task. But if "social dislocation" is what is called for, then I certainly am willing. It will be after I have tried R again for me to discover my capabilities for withstanding the pressures, I am, nonetheless, willing. As I dream of the day when masses of Negroes will rise to the call, I keep humming to myself an eld spiritual we used to sing:
"Mars am I acad ms."
"Mars am I acad ms." "Here am I, send me."

As I think over that night at Community Church, James Baldwin's "This Morning, This Baidwin's "This Morning, This Evening, So Soon" again comes to mind. The sarrator, speaking of his sister, says that "all the white people she has ever met be reassured, consoled, to have their consciences pricked

Much to the surprise of many white liberals that night at Community Church, both Malcolm X. and Bayard Rustin not only pricked but blasted their consciences. As a matter of fact, many black liberals were surprised to find a certain unpredicted rap-port between Malcolm X, and

journalistic orgasm over the differences of opinion which occur between various factions of the movement for equality among Negroes today. I hope white liberals aren't fooled by this. Surely, there are differences of approach, program, attitudes, and even methods of resolution of the many problems black people in America are facing. But be ye not deceived. The movement will press forward despite differences.

Needs Allies

As Bayard Rustin pointed out, be movement needs white allies," I agree, However, the movement will not rely on these cilies fully-though it will welcome their assistance with open arms-but will have a broad base among Negroes of many

lines The white man, inimical or otherwise, had better cultivate an understanding of this because, willy or nilly, there is going to be change.

philosophical and social discip-

letters. to the editor

Continued from page 4

ance of reality and opportunity, thence pleas for protective ac-tion by the Great Hermorphodite, the Government. Daydreams in stead of new designs. Now, having criticized, I have a practical proposal: if larger

other non-backs really want to retain and renovate Penn Station, let them buy it. Maybe could tithe ten percent of their income, lecture and royalty fees etc., latch onto a few mystical old ladies, get a grant from the Fund for the Republic, needed, in one way or another, sell stock shares, etc.—in other words, raise their money for their objective-buy it, renovate but not blusted (italics mine). It, put up historical plaques charge an admission fee sightseers, put some of their nonhack design talent to work mak-ing it a useful and interesting place, and in short do something with their minds instead of with their mouths and feet. With the new waterproofing chemicals they could even convert the big Bayard Rustin. I am glad this central portion into a baths, the "myth of the rift" was exposed. alcoves into dressing and assig-Somehow the press has had a nation booths, the Savarin into a lecture hall with scroll library the areade shops into toga shops and of course there is plenty o room down below for lion cages, Christian rituals, gladiatorial camps, etc. The directorship should be a committee made up of Norval White for architectural passion, Henry Reed for antiquarian knowledge, Jane Jacobs for traffic manage ment, Norman Maller and Terry

Southern for entertainment i Aline Saarinen for public reis Then, baby, the place would

-Bob Lowokn, Architect West 22nd Street

THE RECORD

GALLERY 28 St. Marks Pl.

Selection of Jazz, Folk Classical & Show Albums at Discount

Also Radio and honograph Repul call OR 4-4090

#### VACATION GUIDE and TRAVEL directory

Open thru The Jewish Helidays

greatly reduced rates arview Collage", Ocean Beach, Island, Call eves.: WA 6-0138 er \$16 - JU 3-5125,

**Hunters Paradise** STATE OF MAINE Guides evalleble. servations Plymeeth, Ma Code 207-257-2207

Rocking Horse Ratch
MIGHLAND, N. Y.
only 11/4 hrs. via thrusony
Where The Ellis Meet to Stord
Free here heeft riding, seated
from, square descing, solding
from the control of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control
of the Control

R. & Box 140 Walden, N.Y. Informat, tripodly, Marle, books, spects, network lette. Weekly 553. Selly 55, Weeklands Frl. Suppor thru' Sea. Binner 516. Fats Networth (714) 545-1233

ZEN HAVEN

\$17 weeken Write Assme, 61 W. 56 St. Cell: 78 44819 - WA 44111