

VOICE READERS COMPRISE A \$30,000,000 MARKET

EDITORIAL

TOGETHERNESS IS THE THEME

TOGETHERNESS, and nothing but togetherness, will win the Negroes' battle. God will help those who help themselves. Togetherness will give us the strength to help ourselves. Togetherness is unity, and unity is strength. Strength gives courage, and courage conquers the adversary.

The Negroes' problem is not the problem of some Negroes, it is the problem of all Negroes. It is not the problem of Negroes of any geographical section, it is the problem of Negroes everywhere. It is not the problem of Negroes alone, it is the problem of all America. It is not the problem of our country alone, it is the world's problem. The Negroes' problem resolves itself into being the problem of the democratic ideology.

The future of the democratic form of government will be strongly affected by the outcome of today's social revolution being waged between 'states righters' and 'right doers'. The 'right doers' will eventually win because 'right' is always the eventual victor over 'wrong'. However, time is the essence if the image of democracy is to find permanent favor among peoples of the world

The Negro holds not only his own destiny in his actions, he holds the destiny of Democracy as well. The Negro can salvage the democratic ideology as he salvages himself from second class citizenship, provided the job is done with all deliberate speed. The longer it takes to do the job, the darker and dimmer the image of democracy becomes. If democracy is to survive it must present a cleaner image to the uncommitted people of the world. These unaligned people represent the balance of power in the cold war, and their lands contain enough resources to provide for total victory in a shooting war. Our chosen form of government could not survive if we lost the favor of more than half the world population and about two-thirds of the world's stores of natural resources.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM has become a world problem. It is no longer confined to the South, nor to the big cities of America. The non-whites

on a continent whose renaissance he largely engendered, now no longer its prime representative to the outside world nor the prime basis of inspiration for the continent itself. He must share the stage with a proliferation of prime ministers and presidents, and it would be hard for a person of less pride and sensitivity to weather this experience without damage.

Have his difficulties been aggravated by undue criticism based on unrealistic expectations of what can and must happen in a continent so newly involved in explosive change? And will similar criticism have had the same impact on Kaunda when Zambia has become as well-worn a name as Ghana?

African leaders, after all, are neither omnipotent nor saints. They are human beings. If this is the root of problems, it is also the source of hope.

all around the globe cast a quizzical eye at America, and ask themselves how they can accept Americans as their friends when Americans subject their own non-white citizens to inequities and injustices. The Negro must awaken fellow Americans to this situation which could lead to catastrophe for all America. The time is now--tomorrow could be too late.

Many Negroes, but not nearly enough, have done more than their share. Far too many Negroes have done nothing for their own cause. Only two Negroes of every hundred belong to the NAACP. The spoils of victory will be shared by all. The two per cent who now carry the torch will light the way for the 98% who contribute nothing. When full citizenship is granted it will not be doled out to just those who fought the battle; it will be given to all Negroes equally and alike. Either we all go up together, or we all stay down together. Let us all get together to assure speedy victory. Together we can not fail, but divided we can not be sure of anything.

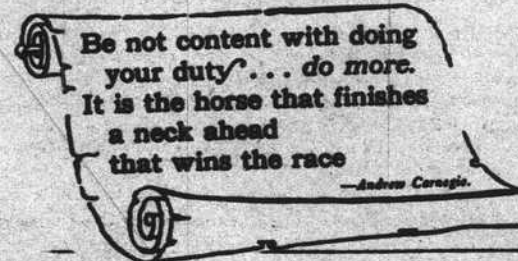
The more united we are, the more allies we will attract to our cause. We must have allies, and more allies joining everyday, because our numbers are too small to wage the struggle alone. We must each do a job of conscripting new supporters for our cause. It is the duty of every Negro to play a part in winning his own freedom so that he will wear that badge with dignity and with pride.

TO ASK WHAT the U.S. Senate is going to do about civil rights is not the question that every Negro should be asking. Each and every Negro must ask himself every day, "What am I doing to get my Civil Rights?" The vast majority of Negroes, should they answer this question honestly, would be forced to hang their heads in shame. The 'do nothing' Negro is an enemy to his own cause. He is just as guilty of breaching the principles of Democracy as the bigot who hides behind 'states rights' to justify his right to do wrong as he drives the wedge of racism deeper into the heart of America. The Negro who does nothing to stop this lethal attack against the image of Democracy is equally as guilty as the attacker.

The time is now for ALL Negroes to join their own cause. Togetherness is the theme for success. We can not all live together, but if we get together we can all live alike as first class citizens.

The strength of 'Togetherness' will show itself with telling impact if we vote together and spend together.

A unified vote is a vote for civil rights. A wisely spent dollar is a ticket to opportunity. Let's get together for our sake, for America's sake, and for God's sake!



AFRICA in Today's World

By CHARLES I. WEST, M.D.

(Last week we presented the first part of George Loft's coordinated reviews of Kenneth Kaunda's "Zambia Shall Be Free" and Kwame Nkrumah's "Africa Must Unite," which appeared originally in the February issue of the highly authoritative "Africa Report." The second and concluding portion of Loft's reviews follows.)

Kenneth Kaunda's "Zambia Shall Be Free", written by a different kind of person than Kwame Nkrumah, with different perspectives at a different stage of national development, has neither the world view nor the acidity of Nkrumah's "Africa Must Unite", reviewed here last week. But it is singularly revealing of the background, thoughts, and personality of this most impressive leader of 3,000,000 people in one of Africa's most strategic countries. The complete lack of bitterness is noteworthy, considering Kaunda's present involvement with colonialism, his freshness out of its prisons, and the sharpness of the struggle against both the conventional obstacles to independence and the unique problems arising from Northern Rhodesia's inclusion in the recently dissolved Central African Federation.

This absence of rancor, which is part of Kaunda's personality, should not mislead anyone about his steely determination. In 1960, he wrote: "To organize for anything effectively, you must have clear in your own mind what you want, and how you mean to get it. We of UNIP know what we want, self-government now, and we also know how to get it, through non-violent means plus positive action." Consistency has been Kaunda's most impressive personal attribute. He has not only preached high moral standards; he has practiced them. He not only advocates non-violence; he has campaigned for political leadership on this principle.

It is to the credit of Northern Rhodesia's Africans that they responded to these elements of integrity in leadership in the face of more beguiling mass political appeals. His ability to lead Northern Rhodesia constructively to independence and beyond is important not only for that country but also for territories to the south. Northern Rhodesia's black/white ratio of about 35 to 1 comes close enough to that elsewhere in southern Africa for its course to be significant to those white communities living in resistant fear of the African thrust.

The present book covers events from Kaunda's childhood through mid-1962, and one must hope for further detailed chapters at a later date. It will be intriguing to see what effect the post-independence experience--with its internal and external thrusts--will have on him. Will Kaunda in power be a different Kaunda--just as the Nkrumah of 1963 may be unrecognizable to some of those who knew him in the early 1950's?

To what extent has the insensitivity of the outside world to Nkrumah's special needs helped to make him acid and suspicious? How much, indeed, do the existence and achievements of Kaunda himself--for all the appreciation the Northern Rhodesian and others may accord the Ghanaian leader--contribute symbolically to Nkrumah's problems? For here stands Nkrumah,

GIVE



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