



AFRICA in Today's World

DURING THE PAST TWO WEEKS we had a close-up look at the deteriorating situation within the Organization of African Unity. Our summation of conditions as they now exist were based on reports gleaned from many reliable sources, including observations by Los Angeles Times staff writer Dan Shannon in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, temporary headquarters of the OAU.

Last week we pointed out that one of the more highly publicized, but less successful, groups set up at the OAU's founding session was the nine-nation African Liberation Committee. This committee was formed to help "liquidate" remaining colonial regimes and combat increasingly oppressive white rule in South Africa. It was explained that the committee operates out of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, where volunteers are trained for guerilla warfare in the neighboring Portuguese colony of Mozambique.

After leaving Addis Ababa, Mr. Shannon moved down the east coast of Africa to Dar-es-Salaam, where he recently filed the following report, for which we are indebted to the Los Angeles Times:

THE UNSMILING FACE of Red China's Chou En-lai still stares down from posters side by side with the weak grin of Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere in Dar-es-Salaam.

The posters and sagging triumphal arches are souvenirs of Chou's visit here just before the abortive Algiers conference of Afro-Asian states, where Red China's hopes of a diplomatic victory over the Soviet Union went up in the smoke of the Algerian coup.

Chou's failure at Algiers was presaged by the awkwardness of his visit here--he came to Tanzania in the hope that other invitations would enable him to repeat his African grand tour of 1963. Instead, the Chinese traveller was forced to stall in Dar-es-Salaam until it became embarrassingly obvious that Nyerere's neighbors were unwilling to take the hint. Chou was then forced to fly ignominiously to Cairo for an off-hand reception by Gamal Abdel Nasser.

AT A MOMENT when governments all around Africa are increasingly wary of the Chinese, Nyerere's hospitality was puzzling. Once perhaps overpraised--like Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah on the other side of the continent--as a leader of great promise, the 43-year-old Nyerere may lately have been excessively criticized by his former admirers.

An example was London reporters' description of the Mwalimu's "Mao Tse-tung uniform" at the June conference of Commonwealth prime ministers. In fact, the "uniform" was no more than a long-sleeved version of the collarless shirt which passes for a national costume in Tanzania.

His defenders--some of whom can be found in the U.S. Embassy and fewer in the British high commission--excuse Nyerere's willingness to receive Chou with the explanation that it is a way for Tanzania to play on the world stage. For a nation of 9.5 million, impoverished and remote from power centers, such opportunities are rare, yet they are important in what Nyerere calls "nation-building."

THERE IS ALSO the matter of material benefit from playing the East-West game. Tanzania has a commitment for \$45 million from Communist China and one for \$67 million from the Soviet bloc, pledged toward a five-year development plan. The United States has promised

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

EDITORIAL

NAACP Tests 1964 Rights Law

In a move wholly in line with its great tradition of seeking to end discrimination through the courts and under law, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has launched the first major test of that section of the 1964 civil rights act which prohibits discrimination in employment by management or labor.

Ten employers and five labor unions in four states have been charged with violation of the law. A spokesman for the NAACP said that the complaints sought to establish that patterns of discrimination exist--patterns that the association would like to have the new federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission correct throughout the nation.

In two of the cases, the NAACP charges that unions and employers are working together to maintain

"separate racial seniority lines" which limit Negroes to menial and unskilled jobs. Negroes are rejected from union membership in locals maintained for whites, it is charged, and wage scales for the white local are higher than those for the Negro local.

Only one complaint has been filed in a state--Illinois--with its own fair employment practices law. The federal commission will take jurisdiction in that case only if it is established that a formal complaint had been filed under that law and that the state commission had taken no action on the complaint.

But the federal commission will take immediate jurisdiction in the other cases because the states involved, Louisiana, Tennessee and Alabama, have no state laws on discrimination in employment. If the commission finds that the com-

plaints are well-founded, it can do no more, however, than attempt conciliation to end discriminatory practices.

But NAACP leaders make it plain that if the commission cannot effect conciliation, the civil rights organization will take the issue to court. Because the commission is limited by law to conciliation efforts, it is not immediately clear how the NAACP would get the complaints into the jurisdiction of a court.

In any event, a major effort is under way to put the civil rights law to the test in one of the most difficult and important areas of race relations. Once again, the NAACP--tirelessly and patiently--is turning to the law to extend equality of opportunity for Negroes. It is a hard road the NAACP travels, but it is the right one.

Stevenson's Valiant Role In Rights Cause Recalled

BY ROY WILKINS

The death news brought a flashback to 1952. The thing that impressed me at once about Gov. Adlai Stevenson was his willingness to add to his knowledge on the civil rights issue. This was a refreshing and intriguing rarity in politics.

It was hot that August day in Springfield, but the newly drafted Democratic candidate for President of the United States was busy speaking, writing, conferring and planning in connection with his campaign.

From his base in the Illinois capital he had been issuing informal comments on public questions which would be expanded later into full scale campaign speeches. An interview on civil rights had been arranged.

In 1952 the civil rights issue had grown in importance since Harry S. Truman had thrust it boldly into the national political picture in 1948. What would Mr. Stevenson do four years later? If that August day set a pattern (and it did) Stevenson was to carry the human rights crusade forward on the highest intellectual and moral plane.

He unbuttoned his collar, took off his tie, pulled out a drawer of his desk on which to rest his feet comfortably, cut off all phone calls except two (one about campaign funds and one on his developing travel plans) and talked and listened for two hours.

Responsive Dialogue

I suppose it was the listening and the responsive dialogue, including the quick perception and the famous wit, that won me and never let me go. As a newspaperman and civil rights worker I had heard candidates

only \$10 million to aid the Plan.

"But if Nyerere were really aiming at handing over his country to the Chinese," one U.S. official said, "why would he have permitted us to have a Peace Corps of 350 here, the largest in Africa?"

"He has asked the United States for 25 top-level civil servants, a request we are having trouble filling, but he hasn't asked Chou to do the same."

Another point cited in favor of the only African president possessing an earned master's degree in English literature is his quiet suppression of Zanzibar as a Red Chinese base. The big Chinese embassy remains as a consulate from the island's brief existence as an independent republic, but Western observers believe that the Chinese activity is being successfully phased out since the federation of Zanzibar and Tanganyika which gave birth to Tanzania last year.

(To be continued)

volunteering their personal or political opinions on Negro rights.

They had a formula for the Negro. They offered political dogmatism or expediency. They knew vaguely about "down South" and they had little pat expressions for the Negro problems in their home towns or states.

Adlai Stevenson had little of this. He listened attentively and appreciatively to the expounding of an idea. Then he explained in the inimitable Stevenson logic and language his agreement or disagreement or made further inquiry on the aspect under discussion.

He had a grasp of the agonizing American problem of promise and practice on the Negro question. He was outraged by the cruder forms of physical and spiritual oppression of Negro Americans. But, in true Stevensonian fashion, he was outraged even more by the dishonoring by America itself of its pledge to "all men" within its citizenship.

Always Questioning

He could not submerge his clear intellect and his moral convictions in politics. He did not agree that America was all wrong and the Negro all right. He inquired about the race's exercise of responsibility, about its evidences of maturity in a struggle that often left it, he agreed, little opportunity to remain sober, objective and responsible.

He was deeply concerned that America remove racial barriers and restrictions. He was concerned, also, that beset and deprived as he was, the Negro citizen must muster from the hidden wells that give life and majesty to the world's men, those qualities and procedures which would speed the freedom of both the nation and the minority.

Others brought bluntness or momentary pragmatism or suavity or deftness or warmth to this great human problem of the races in America. Adlai Stevenson brought to it a clear and comprehensive concept, a firm conviction born of his moral precepts and an action based upon his love of freedom and his passionate affection for his country.

On a thousand occasions since 1952, whether denouncing apartheid, conferring on high policy, or offering gracious comment at a United Nations function, Adlai Stevenson served the human race, beckoning it, in his time and through his magnificent gifts, to a higher plateau, to, as he put it, "a vision of things that are to be."

LAS VEGAS
Voice

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958 West Owens Ave. (Golden West Shopping Center) Las Vegas, Nevada
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