

United Nations Keep Henry Kissinger Out Of The Middle East

By Curtis T. Perkins

Recently, our new Secretary of State, George Shultz, called in the former Secretary, Henry Kissinger, for consultations. Mr. Shultz is on the wrong track. For it was Henry Kissinger who is responsible for the tragic events in Lebanon today.

It was this eccentric official during the Ford years who froze America in cement by signing an agreement with Israel in 1974 not to recognize or talk with the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

I must state here that I fervently believe blood is on Dr. Kissinger's hands. He is in the same boat with Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel and his death-dealing Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. With the ruthless practice of military censorship, General Sharon has put forth the big lie that only a few hundred souls have died in Beirut. Yet the world community and its international organizations, along with the roving television cameras, prove that thousands have died from Israeli aerial bombardment, big guns and tanks. The International Red Cross, the Red Crescent Societies of the Arab World; the organs of the Catholic and World church groups plus volunteer medical teams know of the widespread carnage perpetrated on the Lebanese and Palestinians alike by the likes of Mr. Begin and General Sharon.

KISSINGER'S OWN WORDS

Former Secretary Kissinger, a charismatic fellow with a protracted European accent, has attracted a lot of press and several books which chronicle his actions, his shortcomings and his unforgivable stupidity which have delayed a home land for the Palestinian people.

The Kalb brothers, Marvin and Bernard, now at ABC Television, have written a definitive book *Kissinger*. They seem so kind to this man, perhaps because the Kalbs are often so obvious pro-Zionist and so is their hero. They share the affinity inherent in their ethnic origin. Bruce Mazlish has also contributed kind words in his *Kissinger — The European Mind In American Policy*.

There are other books about Mr. Kissinger. But in researching why there has been no movement by America in dealing with the PLO, I find Mr. Kissinger's views most informative and revealing. His book, *Henry Kissinger — For the Record (Selected Statements) 1977-1980*, I quote him directly showing his illogic on blocking the PLO and his bias in behalf of Israel:

"...The Proposition that establishing a PLO state would contribute to the tranquility of the area lacks any factual basis; quite the opposite is likely to be

true. I question the obsession with introducing the PLO into the negotiations not simply because of its rejection of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, but above all because of its radical anti-American and anti-Western policies; its close affiliation with and occasional leadership of all radical forces hostile to us in the Middle East (including those Iranians holding our hostages); its training of terrorists on a global basis; and its intimate cooperation with Soviet intelligence organizations. The PLO in its present incarnation, beyond its implacable enmity to Israel, supports all forces assailing the present international structure. As long as it pursues such a course, it deserves Western opposition, not encouragement.

The prevailing theory is that the PLO would become more moderate after its demands were satisfied. I see no evidence for this; indeed all evidence to the contrary. An independent PLO state in current circumstances will have every incentive to attempt to subvert nearby moderate governments, especially Jordan, if only to escape the inevitable demilitarization provisions without which no Israeli withdrawal of any extent is conceivable.

Finally, I see no sign that such a group, with its ideology and its affiliations, is waiting only for a pretext to become a group of agrarian reformers in a pacifist West Bank mini-state. But the last thing the Middle East needs is another radical state in the region attacking all existing institutions. This is not merely against the interests of the United States; it is also against the interests of moderate Arab states in whose well-being we have a stake. These countries understand this perfectly well, whatever their public statements, but the flirtation with the PLO compounds their vulnerability...."

How Mr. Kissinger concluded such a callous policy toward the Palestinian people is beyond belief. The PLO and its followers have no where to go. By being denied settlement on the West Bank and Gaza as the nucleus of their own nation — they are being subjected to annihilation by the terrorist

Israeli military in their camps in Lebanon.

I would urge that Egypt under the leadership of President Hosni Mubarak make the West Bank and Gaza open to the Palestinians as inherent in the shattered Camp David agreement. The Palestinians trapped in Lebanon could have a place to go now.

Mr. Mubarak is key to correcting Kissinger's errors. He seems well on his way.

During his many years as security adviser to President Richard Nixon and subsequently his Secretary of State and also to President Gerald Ford — Mr. Kissinger shuttled to the Middle East — with leverage but frozen in his own intransigence and that of his client — Israel. I challenge that he served as our American Secretary of State in this ugly debacle.

ECHOES OF JOHN FOSTER DULLES

Unfortunately, on the PLO matter, Dr. Kissinger smells of the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. This Secretary lost Cuba to Russia for us by imposing an intolerable embargo on President Fidel Castro following his successful revolution. Mr. Dulles also imposed a policy of no talks with Cuba, which have persisted in kind (despite a few feeble efforts toward reconciliation) even today. Mr. Dulles also pursued, like many of his successors, ignoring the Peoples Republic of China and several other so-called communist nations. Although a relationship was re-established during the Nixon-Kissinger era with the Peoples Republic, Kissinger's edict of not doing business with the PLO in behalf of peace in the Middle East remains at this moment intact.

Another great sin Mr. Kissinger committed was to encourage the late Shah of Iran to raise the price of oil. This was done to cover the cost of sophisticated planes and weaponry provided by the United States.

Of course the Arabs got the blame which is wrong today.

PRESIDENT REAGAN SHOULD IGNORE KISSINGER

I have no empathy or love for the Reagan Administration. But I do wish our new Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, well. Already this economist, government official and business man has a good record of having blacks on his staff. While Secretary of Labor, his chief Assistant Secretary was a black Republican. There were several assistant black deputies. Mr. Kissinger had no such identity with us. Furthermore, his policy toward Africa was of no consequence. Nigeria rejected a visit proffered by him. He did nothing in South Africa against apartheid or for freedom for Namibia. He had disdain for the United Nations.

President Reagan does not need Mr. Kissinger and especially in the Middle East. Secretary Shultz needs to create new initiatives — and a prime one is to deal with the PLO leadership directly and to give the Palestinians their own country. This issue has to be settled now. Blood must stop flowing against a people who want and must have their own fulfillment of their determination to be together and free.

Not only must Mr. Reagan and Mr. Shultz stamp out the lack of foresight of the Kissingers but

Zionist activists such as Howard Squadron, chairman of major Jewish organizations. Attorney Squadron represents a cacque of loud mouths who hate Palestinians, the PLO and Arabs generally.

Mr. Squadron has been in Lebanon, sending back reports to such journals as the *New York Post* — trying to keep support for Mr. Begin and General Sharon. He goes shrillingly on in his statements on the great good that Israel is doing for the world with his holocaust on the Palestinian people. He is also trying to sell the myth that the casualties are low. He has the complicity of *New York Post* columnists James A. Wechsler and Max Lerner in this charade.

Regardless of the facts, the "Israel can do no wrong" group of columnists go madly on their way. They claim a great advantage in the carnage by Israel in Lebanon. They include R. Emmett Tyrrell, George Will, Joseph Kraft and editor of *Commentary Magazine* Norman Podhoretz. Mr. Podhoretz sees the slaughter in Beirut as "breathing new life" in Camp David. These gentlemen have other journalists and well known editors who are even more vehement against the PLO and its people on their side.

I am happy to point out *New York Times* columnists Anthony Lewis and Tom Wicker and Richard Cohen of the *Washington Post* do see the rape of the Palestinians and the wanton waste of Lebanon as bad for world peace and patently wrong. I.F. Stone, who used to publish a newsletter but still writes, is even more critical of Messrs. Kissinger, Begin and Sharon. I am encouraged that the academic community has taken up the cause of the Palestinians. Among these are Professors Herbert Kelman and Sana Hassan of Harvard; Profs. Douglas S. Crow of Columbia, Nathan Glazer of Harvard and Seymour Martin Lipset of Stanford and David Saad of Washington, D.C. Many more intellectuals are speaking out.

I am very proud of our black-controlled press throughout the United States for not only criticizing Israel, Kissinger and the paranoia of their admirers, but the ferocity of many American Zionists.

THE BLACK STAKE

The U.S. Congress is not saying one word about the billions we give Israel each year in war goods, direct aid, philanthropy and bond purchases.

This money should remain at home to help rebuild the infrastructures of our urban centers, provide jobs and housing — especially for us blacks.

The carnage by Israel in Lebanon will cost billions more — all from the American taxpayers. The U.S. can no longer pay for the expansionist goals of Israel. Congress needs to investigate the expenditures in this mess. We must respect our Arab friends, for they have oil which we need as against only rhetoric from Israel.

Blacks must be reminded, we are quietly getting thousands of immigrants in a big stream from Israel as a result of the action in Lebanon. We have over 250,000 such people in New York City alone, who do not want to serve in the Israeli Army, live with 3-digit inflation and pay high taxes. They take jobs and philanthropic aid from us blacks.

That is why we must never again listen to the Kissingers, the Begins, the Sharons and the Squadrons.

Again, Mr. President keep Mr. Kissinger out of the Middle East, the State Department and the White House. His narrow-mindedness has already cost many lives and billions of scarce American dollars.

Ellis Media Report Minority Media Ownership: Fact and Fiction

By Dwight M. Ellis



Ownership of media enterprises by minorities is a growing phenomenon fueled by knowledge among informed minorities that ownership brings greater control and power. What Robert Maynard, publisher/editor of the *Oakland Tribune*, described in 1979 as the "unseen environment" of non-white America is not different from what Ralph Ellison, author of *The Invisible Man*, stated in 1946: "A people must define itself, and minorities have the responsibility of having their ideas and images recognized as part of the composite image which is that of the still forming American people."

ELECTRONIC MEDIA

How well are minorities doing in media ownership? Will it make a significant difference? Over 26 million black Americans representing a \$140 billion consumer market can claim only 117 black-owned radio stations of 7,993 commercial stations. In 1978, blacks owned 57 of the nation's 7,571 commercial radio stations. Of the 783 commercial TV stations, blacks own eleven. It's also instructive to know that these 128 stations are owned by 82 blacks.

Cable reveals a more dismal picture. According to *TVC* magazine (Dec. 1981), 16 of the more than 4,000 cable systems in the U.S. are owned by blacks. Only three systems are operational. William Johnson, president of KBLE (Columbus, Ohio), states that during the early sixties as many as 50 black-owned cable systems or franchise holders existed in urban areas. Lack of experience and vital resources to service their franchise areas resulted in the loss of these cable gains.

However, recent breakthroughs in the cable programming area by Robert Johnson's Black Entertainment Television and Percy Sutton's WBLS Urban Contemporary Music and Entertainment Network are promising gains. Clearly programming represents a major business area for minorities. The two black radio networks, Sheridan and National Black Network are anticipating significant increases in affiliates and diversity of program fare to listeners as they make greater use of satellite broadcasting.

Dewey Hughes, owner of WOL (Wash., D.C.) recently said that information programming will have major emphasis in the 1980's as he commented on the role of black radio in the communities they serve: "Radio stations are not going to save our communities, they're going to equip our communities to save themselves." Hughes speaks as a black who 18 years ago started as a "gofer" at WOL when it was white-owned.

Hispanic-Americans, numbering 15 million with purchasing power of \$30 billion, are the second largest U.S. minority group. They, like blacks, are striving for greater parity of control and ownership of the media. Currently, 25 Hispanics own 28 radio stations and 3 TV stations. The number of Spanish language stations is increased notably when stations owned by Spanish International Network are included.

Eleven Hispanic-owned cable franchises exist, but only four are operational according to *TVC* magazine. As might be expected, these franchises are predominately held in the Southwest where large segments of Hispanics reside.

PRINT MEDIA

Newspapers and magazines have always held a special place in the lives of minorities — especially blacks. Today, there are over 400 newspapers (Four daily papers: Atlanta Daily World, Chicago Daily Defender, N.Y. Daily Challenge, and the Daily News of the Virgin Islands) and 22 national magazines, with a combined average issue circulation of 7 million copies penetrating 80 per cent of U.S. black households.

According to *Diaria La Prensa* (N.Y. Spanish newspaper), there are over 100 Spanish language weeklies and approximately six dailies (Miami, Los Angeles, New York and El Paso, Texas papers).

As formidable as this range of minority print media may appear, all are facing possible extinction. It goes without saying that if two of the nation's major dailies failed to survive — *The Washington Star* and the morning *New York Daily News*, the largest circulation American metropolitan daily — minority print media is in trouble!

There is a fiction that minority ownership of both

electronic and print media can grow and survive the wave of economic impoverishment and burgeoning technology. Despite newspaper/magazine cross-ownership activities of vanguards like Ragan Henry (multi-station owner and owner of the new national black weekly newspaper, *The National Leader*); Dr. Carlton Goodlett (owner of a California radio station and a northern California newspaper); and John Johnson (owner of Johnson publications and one of Chicago's leading radio stations) minority print ownership like its electronic counterpart is fraught with dire pitfalls and economic dangers.

Press Time, the trade journal of the American Newspaper Publishers Association was quoted in September, 1981 stating that as many as 39 million Americans (20 per cent of the adult population) can be classified as functional illiterates: "only a few of them can read even the comics or sports sections." The report went on to say that "if 39 million citizens are functional illiterates, and millions more can read but choose not to, newspaper people must be concerned for the future of their business."

And what does this mean for the black press? In his keynote address at the National Newspaper Publishers Association convention in July of last year, president John Procope recommended that NNPA members adopt a five-year plan to strengthen themselves editorially, in advertising and in circulation.

Further, Black Media, Inc. has launched as "Assault-On-Illiteracy-Program" (A-O-I-P) to overcome the tragedy reported by a 1980 federal government study that 44 per cent of all black youth leaving public schools at age 18 and over could not read beyond the fourth grade [level]. Meanwhile according to many newspaper experts, the death knell is sounding for many major metropolitan papers leaving urban communities with one major daily. An example is D.C.'s *Washington Post*. Several print media giants like Time, Inc., Knight-Ridder and the Associated Press are incorporating their operations with the three technologies of the 80's: the computer, the satellite, and the television set. The era of the electronic newspaper is upon us.

As much as the minority media is committed to serving its constituencies, spiraling equipment and facility costs, inability to capture a reasonable share of advertising dollars, and shrinking financial resources threaten progress and survival. In broadcasting, despite special FCC policies encouraging minority ownership and the existence of three broadcast MESBIC's (Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies), insufficient equity capital and inflated station prices work severe hardships on prospective minority owners. Once a station is purchased by a minority, problems invariably occur in acquiring advertiser support to sustain healthy operation of these facilities. With radio deregulation, many minority broadcasters low on promotion capital face stiff competition in an open marketplace. The highly touted godsend to minority TV ownership, low power television, no longer seems so viable. Over 6,000 applications have been filed at the FCC. Some estimate that about 400 are from minorities. To date, only two minorities (black women) have been granted licenses — one from Knoxville, Tennessee and one from Flagstaff, Arizona.

It is estimated that 75 per cent of newspaper revenues come from advertisers. Minority newspapers have always failed to get a reasonable share of the advertiser dollar. Many advertisers claim that black newspapers don't adequately represent their circulation figures to attract them. This dispute has been waging for decades. Nonetheless, industry sources state that advertisers allocate less than 1 per cent of measured magazine outlays to black magazines. This figure can generally be applied to black newspapers as well. Clarence Smith, president of *Essence* magazine said in *Advertising Age* last year that "to the extent that blacks do not fare well, black magazines will not fare well."

As bleak as the future appears for the growth and continued existence of minority media ownership, there will always be determined and courageous minority entrepreneurs who will pick up the gauntlet and forge ahead. It never has been, nor will it ever be easy being a minority in America. But the

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